

GÖTEBORGS
ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM
ÅRSTRYCK
1978



ANNALS

Omslagsbilden/front cover:

Vattenpipa från Nazlet el Seman, Egypten. Höjd 34 cm. 78.3.75
Water-pipe from Nazlet el Seman, Egypt. Height 34 cm. 78.3.75.

Drawing by Stein Lango, Ethnographic Museum, Gothenburg.

**GÖTEBORGS
ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM**

ÅRSTRYCK 1978

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM, GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN

Annual Report for 1978

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Editor: Kjell Zetterström

Borgströms Tryckeri Aktiebolag
Motala 1980

BERÄTTELSE FÖR 1978

Etnografiska Museets råd har under året haft följande sammansättning: ordförande, fru *Ilse Essle*, vice ordförande, redaktör *Gunnar Breide* samt ledamöterna ombudsman *Roy Gustafsson*, professor *Gunnar Harling*, forskarassistent *Björn Hettne*, professor *Åke Holmberg*, fru *Irma Nääs* och ämneslärare *Folke Rugarn*.

Rådet har sammanträtt den 11/5 och 29/9.

Etnografiska Museets arbetsgrupp har under året sammanträtt för att diskutera budget-, lokal-, utställnings- och andra planeringsfrågor samt för att besvara remisser.

Regelbunden information enligt MBL har under året lämnats till personalen. MBL-förhandlingar om budget- och personalfrågor har förts.

FÖREMÅLSSTATISTIK

Under året har 18 samlingar om totalt 606 föremål registrerats. Av dessa har 598 köpts och 8 erhållits i gåva.

REGIONAL FÖRDELNING:

AMERIKA

Köp 27 och gåvor 5 föremål

Nordamerika. 78.11.1 är en miniatyrkorg från Arizona som skänkts av anonym amerikanska efter besök på museet.

Mellanamerika. 78.12.1 består av en lergök från Guatemala skänkt av fru Elsa Peterson, Göteborg.

Sydamerika. 78.2.1 utgörs av frystorkad potatis från Bolivia. Gåva av herr Bengt-Arne Runnerström, Finspång.

78.6.1-3 är en arkeologisk samling från Peru bestående av två lerkärl och gjutform av lera för lerkärlstillverkning från Piura i norra Peru, köpta av herr Lars Gran, Västra Frölunda.

78.14.1 innehåller ätliga myror från Colombia vilka har skänkts av intendent Sven-Erik Isacsson, Göteborg.

78.15.1-24 utgörs av arkeologisk keramik från sydvästra Colombia, företrädesvis från Quimbaya, Calima och Narino, och har köpts av herr Bo Carlo, Malmö.

78.16.1 är en fjäderprydnad från Colombia som skänkts av ambassadör Hans Sköld, Bogotá. Den kommer från Camsa-indianerna i Sibundoy.

AFRIKA

Köp 243 och gåvor 2 föremål.

78.3.1-242 är en etnografisk samling av fr.a. bruksföremål från Egypten. Den insamlades av intendent Carl Axel Silow under en forskningsresa vid årsskiftet 1977/78.

78.7.1 är en kanot från Kamerun skänkt av Sjöfartsmuseet i Göteborg.

78.13.1 är en stenfigur (pomdo) från Kisi-folket i Guinea. Köp av ingenjör Hans Jonsson, Gävle.

78.17.1 utgörs av ett par dansskallror som skänkts av Barbro Skottsberg, Göteborg.

ASIEN

Köp 103 och gåva 1 föremål.

78.8.1-3 är textilier från meo-folket. Köp av herr G. Fredriksson, Vientiane, Laos.

78.9.1-26 är en samling från Burma som bl.a. innehåller en munkutstyrsel för pojke. Köp av herr C. M. Allwood.

78.10.1-17 är en samling husgeråd och kläder från Jemen. Köp av herr G. Johansson, Göteborg.

78.17.2 är en kimono från Japan skänkt av Barbro Skottsberg, Göteborg.

78.18.1-57 utgörs av husgeråd samt jordbruks- och fiskeredskap från Vietnam. Köp av G. Fredriksson och B. Lagusson, Bai-Bang, Vietnam.

NYA GUINEA

Köp 137 föremål.

78.4.1-24 är en samling pilar från Papua-Nya Guinea köpta av herr Karl Ströder, Melbourne, Australien.

78.5.1-13 består huvudsakligen av husgeråd och kläder från Nya Guinea. Köp av herr K. G. Johansson, Göteborg.

SRI LANKA

Köp 88 föremål.

78.1.1-88 är en samling bruksföremål inköpta av fru Lotten Zetterström, Göteborg.

BIBLIOTEK, ARKIV OCH KATALOGER

Referensbiblioteket har ökat med 526 titlar till 24.138. Av dessa är köp 152, byte 236, gåvor 135 och egen produktion 3.

Institutioner som bidragit med gåvor är International African Institute, London, Kulturhistorisk Museum, Randers, Kunsthau Lempert, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, Nordiska utställningsrådet för vandringsutställningar, Novosti, Moskva, SIDA, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München, UD, UHÄ, US Embassy, Stockholm, Zanho Press, Tokyo.

Enskilda givare är herr Jan-Åke Alvarsson, Stockholm, dr. Olaf Blixen, Montevideo, dr. Jan G. Bruhn, Uppsala, dr. Mario Califano, Buenos Aires, fil. kand. Claes Corlin, Göteborg, herr Michael Cornell, Göteborg, dr. Alicia Fernandez Distel, Buenos Aires, herr Henrik Ekman, Göteborg, Elisabeth Ekre, herr Rune Hermansson, Falun, dr. Luis Ibérico Mas, Cajamarca Peru, intendent Sven-Erik Isacson, Göteborg, fru Ingrid Osvald-Jacobsson, Göteborg, herr Börje Jansson, Göteborg, fil. kand. Britt-Marie Johansson, Göteborg, fil. kand. Ulrika Junker, Lidingö, dr. Hans Kauffmann, dir. Gustaf Nordenskjöld, Göteborg, Takotrisa Ona, Tokyo, herr Finn Rideland, herr Gösta Sandberg, Nora, professor S. Henry Wassén, Göteborg, museichef Kjell Zetterström, Göteborg.

Bildarkivet har ökat med 237 bilder till totalt 20.008.

Filmarkivet visar ingen ökning.

Negativarkivet har ökat med 169 negativ till 12.068.

Skioptikonarkivet har ökat med 168 dia till 3.268.

Ljudbandsarkivet har ökat med 2 kassetband till 13.

Diskoteket har ökat med 5 gramfonoskivor till 518.

Kartarkivet har ökat med 2 kartor till 373.

Pressklipparkivet har ökat dels genom egen pressbevakning, dels genom gåvor.

MUSEAL VERKSAMHET

UTSTÄLLNINGAR

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 2/2 -18/4 | Gudabilder från Tibet samt hantverk i Peru, Sri Lanka och Liberia. S:t Jörgens sjukhus. |
| 8/2- | Indien. Det gäller Dig också En utställning som bygger på affischmaterial framtaget av Tyresö ulands- och fredsförening. |
| 28/3-7/5 | Fångstfolk från Grönland (Riksutställningar). |
| 3/4-9/7 | Samurajernas Japan. Vapen, bohag och kultföremål. |
| 2/6- | Batik och ikat från Indonesien. |
| 1/10- | Ätliga smådjur från hela världen. |
| 1/10- | Små grodorna Om indianska pilgiftsgrodor. |
| 1/10- | Arabiska kärleksmediciner. |
| 8/11- | Otto Nordenskjöld. |
| 7/12- | Utställning om samerna på Konstfrämjandet i Göteborg. Denna gjordes i anslutning till en utställning om samiskt konsthantverk. |

Tre vandringsutställningar ur museets produktion har visats på nio platser utanför Göteborg,
Åtta nya fönsterskyltningar har gjorts under året,

Samverkansutställningar:

Göteborgs Konstmuseum: Blomster. Museet bidrog med föremål.

Göteborgs Historiska Museum: Resa i Ryssland på köl och räls. Museet deltog med föremål.

Göteborgs Konstmuseum: Hus och träd. Museet deltog med föremål, bilder och texter.

Museilektor

Under vintersportlovet samarbetade museet med Göteborgs Schackförbund över temat "Spel och lekar från hela världen".

Museilådan med föremål från samer och afrikaner har i samarbete med Socialförvaltningen vandrat runt i förskolorna.

Museernas Dag

Till Museernas Dag gjorde museet tre utställningar, se under 1/10 ovan!
Till utställningen om åtliga smådjur bjöd intendent Carl Axel Silow en hungrande publik på diverse åtliga småkryp.

UTLÅNING AV FÖREMÅL M.M.

Göteborg: Arkeologiska Museet, Backa bibliotek, Historiska Museet, Industrimuseet, Journalisthögskolan, Konsum Väst, Stadsbiblioteket, Sveriges Radio, Torildskolan, Tuve bibliotek.
Universitetet: Arkeologiska Institutionen, Institutionen för dramatik, Socialantropologiska institutionen.

Utanför Göteborg: Alingsås Museum, Institutionen för allmän och jämförande etnografi, Uppsala universitet, Kommunhuset, Partille, Landskrona Museum, Ljungna förskola, Mölnlycke, Lärarhögskolan, Mölndal, Malmö Museum, Marinmuseet, Karlskrona, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, Albuquerque, New Mexico, "Musiké", musik och teatergrupp, Halmstad, SMU-scouterna, Kålleröd, Stiftelsen N:a Bohusläns hällristningsinstitut, Tanumshede, Anita Torwald, Olofstorp, Uplandsmuseet, Uppsala, Vallhamra fritidsgård, Partille, Vammarskolan, Valdemarsvik, Älvsborgs läns museiförening, Vänersborg.

PERSONALIA OCH ÖVRIG VERKSAMHET

Museichef	Kjell Zetterström
Kanslist	Maj-Britt Berglund
Intendent Amerikas indian kulturer	Sven-Erik Isacson
Intendent Afroasiatiska avdelningen	Carl Axel Silow
Bibliotek	Rojza Sznajdman (t.o.m. 31/5)
Sakregister	Michael Cornell
Föremålskatalog	Christer Feiff

Konservering och verkstad

Alf Bergström

Evert Berndtsson

Ann Hedeberg (fr.o.m. 4/12)

Gustaf Henriksson

Sven-Erik Roth

Gunilla Sonnhagen

Olle Svartholm

Magasin

Yngve Brink-Wall

Roland Kock

Teckning och utställningar

Britt-Marie Johansson (t.o.m. 15/6)

Stein Lango

Ingrid Midsem

Åse Norén (t.o.m. 30/6)

Museilektor

Josef Lagergren

Pedagogiskt biträde

Gösta Öborn

Fru Rojza Sznajdman gick i pension den 31/5. Hon har under åtta år skött bibliotek och arkiv. Vi på museet tackar för en gedigen arbetsinsats och ett gott kamratskap.

MAGASINERING

Överföringen av föremål till magasinet vid Haga kyrkoplan är i det närmaste klar.

I Ostindiska Huset har inretts ett nytt magasin för keramik.

Ett nytt magasin för textilier har tagits i bruk och inläggning av textilier i detta pågår.

ÖVRIGT

Antalet besökare i Ostindiska Huset (gemensamt för tre museer) har under året varit 121.167. Museet har under året haft besök av 10.688 skolelever. 408 klasser om totalt 6.750 elever kommer från Göteborg och 192 klasser om sammanlagt 3.938 elever kommer från andra kommuner.

PUBLIKATIONER

Califano, Mario &

Distel, Alicia Fernández

El Empleo de la Coca entre Los Mashco de la Amazonia del Perú. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1977:17-32. Göteborg 1978.

Isacsson, Sven-Erik

I Sydamerikas regnskog - kompostbruk härmar naturen. Forskning och Framsteg nr. 8, 1978:19-23

" "

S. Henry Wassén: Printed Works 1930-19
A Bibliography Compiled for his 70th Birthday, August 24th 1978. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1977:33-48. Göteborg 1978.

Skönt och skickligt om arkeologiska fynd. Recension i GP 1978-01-11 av Lapiners bok "Precolumbian Art".

Wassén, S. Henry		<i>Commemorating Erland Nordenskiöld.</i> Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1977:13-15. Göteborg 1978
"	"	<i>Indianska Dueller.</i> KA-fyren, organ för kustartilleriets kamratförening, Göteborg 1978:14-16.
Zetterström, Kjell		<i>Barnen i Bonah.</i> En utställning för blinda och synskadade barn. SMF-nytt 9/1978.
"	"	<i>Berättelse för 1977.</i> Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1977:3-12. Göteborg 1978
"	"	<i>Urvalsprinciper vid Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum.</i> SMF-nytt 15/1978.

Karl Gustav Izikowitz 75 år



Vi gratulerar förre museichefen vid Etnografiska Museet, professor emeritus Karl Gustav Izikowitz, som fyllde 75 år den 26 november 1978.

We congratulate the former director of the Ethnographic Museum, Professor Emeritus Karl Gustav Izikowitz, who celebrated his 75th birthday on November 26, 1978.



Two old friends in front of the Tazumal pyramid in El Salvador. To the right: Professor S. Henry Wassén. To the left: Consul General Hilding Svahn.

Vi gratulerar förre museichefen vid Etnografiska Museet, professor S. Henry Wassén, som fyllde 70 år den 24 augusti 1978.

We congratulate the former director of the Ethnographic Museum, Professor S. Henry Wassén, who celebrated his 70th birthday on August 24, 1978.

Donation:

F.d. generalkonsuln i San Salvador, Hilding Svahn, som avled den 10 juli 1978, hade i sitt testamente ihågkommit Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum som erhöll ca 160.000 kronor. Medlen är avsedda för inköp av latinamerikansk etnografika, arkeologi och litteratur. Generalkonsul Hilding Svahn var en gammal vän till museet och har tidigare donerat pengar och föremål. Vi bevarar honom i tacksamt minne.

The former consul general in San Salvador, Mr Hilding Svahn, who died on July 10, 1978, remembered our museum in his will. The amount received by the museum was approximately 160,000 Sw.Cr., to be used for the purchase of Latin-American ethnographical and archaeological material and literature. Mr Svahn was a long-standing friend of our museum and had already donated both money and objects to the museum's collections. His generosity will be long remembered with gratitude.

Till Wilhelm och Martina Lundgrens Vetenskapsfond, Göteborg, som genom ett generöst bidrag gjort det möjligt att trycka uppsatsen i detta årstryck framför jag mitt varma tack.

Göteborg i mars 1980
Kjell Zetterström
Museichef

OBSERVATIONS ON LIFE CYCLE RITUALS AMONG THE MAKUNA
Birth, Initiation, Death

by Kaj Arhem

Introduction

The following observations on Makuna life cycle rituals are based on field-work carried out among the Komeña Makuna of eastern Colombia between February 1972 and December 1973. This paper describes rituals accompanying birth, initiation and death among the Makuna, and places these rites in their ideological context. The material derives from actually observed ritual performances as well as from general statements about them made by Makuna informants¹. The paper is intended as a contribution to the ethnography of the northwest Amazon. Hence the emphasis is on detailed documentation rather than on analytical or synthetic generalisation.

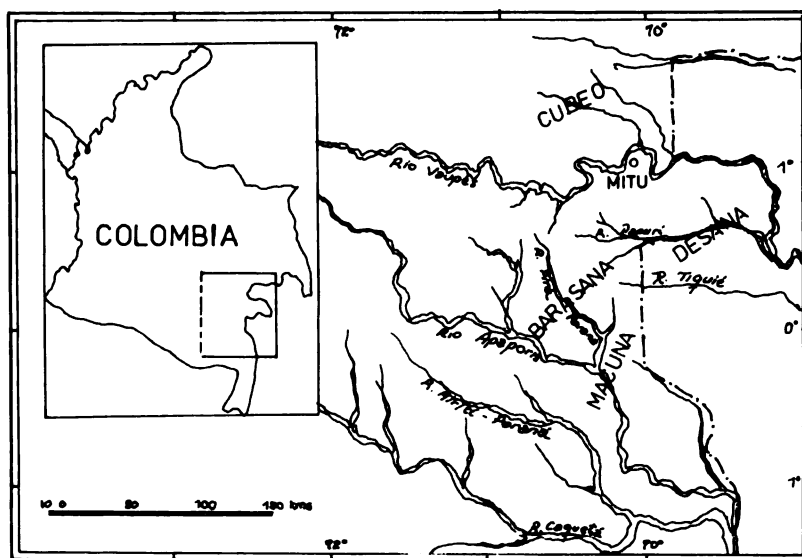
The Makuna are one of many small Indian groups inhabiting the tropical forest of the Colombian Vaupés. Numbering some 400 individuals, the Makuna are divided into two adjacent territorial groups of approximately equal size: The Komena Makuna along the Komeña River, and the Apaporis Makuna along the Apaporis River around and below the mouth of the Pirá-Paraná River. Subsistence is based on slash-and-burn cultivation (bitter manioc being the staple), fishing, hunting and some collecting. The Makuna are presently divided into 12 patrilineal descent categories - sibs - which are classified in relation to each other as either "elder/younger brothers" (*bai/kien masa*) or "brothers-in-law" (*teñi masa*). Inter-marriage between members of the same sib or sibs related as "brothers" is prohibited. The Makuna believe that members of the same sib descend from a common mythical ancestral anaconda. The major sibs among the Komena Makuna are the Saina, the Yiba, the Roe and the Hemoa.

The Makuna live in widely dispersed longhouses (*malocas*), each inhabited by a core of agnatic male kin, their wives and children. Marriages are virilocal and spatially concentrated, which means that neighbouring houses tend to be inhabited by close affines as well as close agnatic kin. These features of the social system are relevant to the understanding of Makuna life cycle rituals - particularly the male initiation ritual. Marriage in itself is not surrounded by any ceremony whatsoever, and is therefore not considered in this paper.

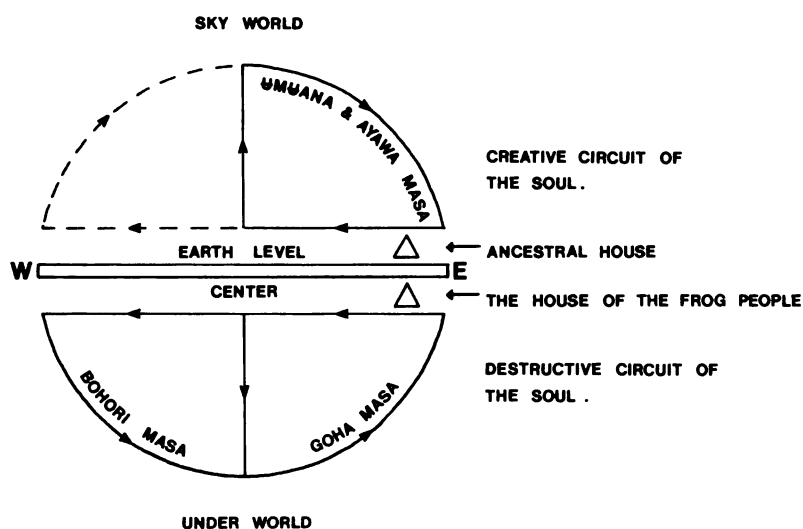
The description of each of the major life cycle rituals is followed by a summary interpretation and a comparative note. The ethnographic literature on life cycle rituals in the northwest Amazon is relatively scarce. Nothing is written on life cycle rituals among the Makuna. The most fully described Indian groups are the Barasana (Hugh-Jones, 1974, 1976, 1977), the Cubeo (Goldman 1963) and the Desana (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1968). I draw essentially from these sources in order to place the Makuna life cycle rituals in a comparative context. Occasionally I bring in additional data from the Tukano (Brüzzi, 1977).

The detailed analysis by the Hugh-Joneses on the Barasana life cycle rituals is valid to a great extent also for the Makuna. There are a number of details in my description that complement and substantiate their general findings. In the interpretation of the data on Makuna life cycle rituals I take care not to reiterate the analytical points made by the Hugh-Joneses. Rather I try to suggest some alternative lines of interpretation, and to underline certain ritual elements which I feel have not received sufficient attention in the literature.

Though essentially descriptive in character and intention, the paper has a simple and straight-forward analytical message. The different life cycle rituals must be understood in relation to each other as parts of a total system of ideas and ritual behaviour. This point has, of course, been made before (comp.



Location of the Indian groups mentioned in the text



Conceptions of death and afterlife (pp 39-40)

f.ex. Leach, 1976) but is worth being repeated. Though it is often implicitly recognized, it is, in my opinion, only rarely demonstrated or utilized as an analytical strategy.

I try to show the utility of examining the rituals of one group in relation to rituals in other (neighbouring) groups. A rite or ritual sequence in one group may throw light on the meaning of similar or distinct rite in another group. The basis of both these analytical propositions is the structuralist assumption that specific rituals are partial transformations of an underlying structure of ideas, common to a whole set of rituals and shared by various (neighbouring) groups (comp. Levi-Strauss on myth analysis, 1978). I believe that this view goes a long way in explaining the variation in ritual behaviour between neighbouring cultural groups in the northwest Amazon, without necessarily having to bring in explanations in terms of cultural diffusion, religious syncretism or historical changes.

BIRTH AND NAMING

I begin the description of birth customs with a general outline of the ideas about conception and the ritual sequence following upon birth. The details of the ritual sequence vary considerably between the accounts given to me by different informants, as well as between the verbal accounts and actually observed rituals. After the general outline of birth customs I therefore proceed to examine the variations in greater detail. During my stay among the Komena Makuna 9 children were born. I was present at the birth of 4 of these children.

General outline of the birth ritual

The Makuna believe that a woman becomes pregnant (*makwaka mukore*; literally "to have a child") when she is full of semen. According to the Makuna, pregnancy can only result after repeated copulation. To indicate that a woman is pregnant in an advanced state the Makuna say that she is *yahi sotu*, which means "almost full". The same phrase is used to indicate that a person is full of food after a large meal. Thus the process of becoming pregnant is perceived as analogous with the process of filling one's stomach with food.

A pregnant woman participates in the daily work routine until the time she is about to deliver. Food restrictions for pregnant women vary with the number of previous births. Elder and experienced mothers apparently eat as usual during pregnancy, while younger women avoid certain foods like salted and smoked fish and meat, at least during the later stage of pregnancy. As a general rule animals (including fish) killed by means of poison (*lima wai*) are prohibited to pregnant women.

The woman gives birth outside the house in the forest or in the garden. If it is her first child she is usually accompanied by an elder woman; otherwise she is alone. When her birth pangs set in she is given shamanised water to alleviate her pain. The umbilical cord is cut by the mother or her helper immediately after birth and is buried together with the placenta at the site of the birth. Then the mother returns to the house.

Before the mother enters the house with her child, the men of the house collect their "goods" (*gaheona*) - all things associated with men and male activities like weapons, tools and ceremonial goods - and take them outside. This custom is called *gaheona bure* - to put away the goods. The reason for this custom is, according to the Makuna, that if the goods are not removed from the house before the mother and child enter, "the goods will go bad, lose their power and become useless". When the goods are removed from the house the men themselves leave the house and remain outside in front of the house till the mother and child have entered through the back door.

This marks the beginning of a period of restrictions and partial seclusion (confinement) for the parents of the newborn child. During this period, the parents are subject to extensive food restrictions; they are supposed to stay inside the house and rest; they are not allowed to bathe in the river and have to avoid exposure to the sun. If they break these restrictions they may seriously harm the child as well as themselves. The restrictions differ between the father and the mother. For the father the food restrictions last about two weeks; for the mother, usually three weeks or more. The father is also allowed to bathe in the river before the woman. On the other hand, the mother, particularly if she is a mother of several children, returns to her normal work routine earlier than the father. Sometimes she resumes her ordinary working routine only a couple of days after the delivery, while the father resumes his work after a week or more. While the mother is confined inside the house the other women of the house help her by providing food for her household. Particularly, her mother-in-law is expected to take care of her and her domestic duties during this period.

Immediately after the birth, the father sends for a shaman to perform the birth shamanism (*riaka keare*). The birth shamanism consists of a number of shamanistic activities: food-blessing (*bare keare*), growth magic, protective magic and the naming of the child. The birth shamanism is performed for the benefit of the parents as well as of the child.

In terms of shamanistic treatment the mother and child are treated as a unit. The shamanistic treatment of the mother-child differs from that of the father. Sometimes there are two shamans officiating at birth; one performing the birth-shamanism for the mother-child, another performing the shamanism for the father. During the period when the shaman performs the birth shamanism, which corresponds to the period of restrictions and confinement of the parents, he is himself under the same restrictions as the father. In other words, it appears as the father and the shaman stand in a similar relationship to the mother-child at birth.

The role of the shaman at birth is thus crucial and his services considered necessary for the well-being of both parents and child. There are presently only four or five shamans among the Komena Makuna who can perform birth shamanism properly. The shaman is paid for his services. The social relationship between shaman and parents of the child is of great importance: it may determine the duration of the period of restrictions for the parents as well as the amount and type of payment for his services. If the officiating shaman is a close agnatic kin of the father the payment may be a bag of coca or snuff. If, however, he is an affine, he may demand expensive trade goods or even a woman to marry, in exchange for his services.

About three or four days after birth the child is given a name by the shaman. I never observed, nor was I told about, any particular naming ceremony (but see below on Naming).

Soon after the child has received a name the shaman performs the bathing shamanism, first for the father and then for the mother and child. They are then allowed to bathe in the river. When the mother and child return from the river after the ritual bath the same ceremony (*gaheona bure*) as when she returned from the forest with the newborn baby is repeated: the men remove their goods from the house before she enters the house with the child, and the men wait outside till the mother and child have entered through the back door. Then the men enter with their goods through the front door.

The ritual bath and the ceremonial removal of the men's goods mark the end of the period of restrictions and confinement for the parents. The shaman now blows over pepper and different kinds of food, first for the father and later for the mother. The parents then gradually return to

ordinary food and work habits.

The birth ritual is a notoriously private ritual. Except for the brief period of confinement and the ceremonial removal of the men's goods at the beginning and end of the seclusion, nothing reveals that a baby is born in the house. The members of the house do not talk about or even mention the birth. The silence and privacy of childbirth among the Makuna appear ritualised in themselves.

Elements of the ritual sequence: details and variation

1. The ceremonial removal of goods (*gaheona bure*) took place before the mother entered the house with the newborn baby in all the cases observed by me, but in no case was the ceremony performed as she entered with her baby after the ritual bath. I was told that in connection with the ceremony of removing the men's goods from the house, bees wax should be burnt inside the house before the men re-enter. This did not occur in the cases observed by me.

The goods removed from the house included: maracas, panflutes, dancing tubes, wooden masks, the box containing ceremonial feather head-dresses, all other ceremonial paraphernalia including the two ceremonial staffs, the gourds of coca, the tools of coca preparation, the gourd of bees wax, weapons including blow-guns, bows and arrows and paddles. Most of these items were removed from the house in all the cases that I observed. In one case - at the birth of a girl - the cassava grinding boards, a bag of pepper and a chest containing the personal belongings of the father were also removed.

2. I was told that the parents ought to stay in confinement in a separate compartment inside the house for several days after the birth. In two of the cases observed the family already occupied a separate compartment inside the house in which the parents stayed during the period of confinement. In one case, however, the parents had no separate compartment, but continued to occupy their usual space in the house after the birth without being confined in a separate compartment. The father in this case was a shaman. In another case a boy child was born during a great Jurupari ritual (see below on Male initiation). The father then constructed a simple compartment of palm-screens outside the house at the rear end. The mother and child stayed in this compartment during the rest of the ritual - a couple of days - while the father slept inside the house together with the other men.

The danger of breaking the rules of confinement after birth is illustrated by the following case. It also shows the dangers believed to be involved in performing the birth shamanism itself. An experienced and powerful shaman officiated at the birth of his nephew. The day after the birth he went outside the house during the day to defecate. Close to a stream near the house he then encountered a large anaconda. A week later the shaman contracted a skin disease. He attributed this disease to the fact that he had neglected the prohibition on exposure to sunshine while performing the birth shamanism. Another case illustrates the native rationale for the confinement: Five days after the birth of a son and two days after taking the ritual bath, the father set off to work on a canoe. On the way, however, he repented himself and returned home and lay down to rest in his hammoc. He said that on the way he had felt something in his throat. This meant to him that his child might become ill (*ruhure huni*) if he worked on the canoe.

3. During the period of confinement the parents as well as the shaman are

subject to severe food restrictions. All food and hot drinks are considered dangerous. The diet consists of a few categories of shamanised food: cassava bread (*nahu*), ants (*meka*, *hami meka*), palmheart (*mame*) and ground termites (*butua*). Together with cold drinks and water these are the food items considered least dangerous. After the ritual bath in the river the shaman blows over pepper (*bīa keare*) for the father and gives it to him to taste. This signals the end of the food restrictions and the gradual return to ordinary food, beginning with small fish (*wai rīa*) boiled with pepper and then continuing with big fish (*wai*) and finally meat (*wai buku*). Meat from spider monkey (*gake*) and peccary (*yese*) is considered dangerous for the father and shaman up to a couple of weeks after the birth, and longer for the mother. The same holds true for animals killed by poison, bow and arrow and shotgun. Salt and roasted food are also avoided for at least two weeks.

After about three weeks the shaman blows over pepper and small fish for the mother. She can now begin to eat shamanised food except smoked or salted big fish and meat. By now the father (and shaman) eats all ordinary food. After about a month the shaman again blows over food for the mother and begins the sequence of food shamanism for the child. This sequence will continue for about 3 years.

After about two years the shaman blows over fish (*wai*) for the child to eat. The child may now begin to eat fish like *pawa* and *rutu buku*. After three years the shaman blows over meat (*wai buku*) for the child. The child may then eat all ordinary food.

4. The butu shamanism is a central element of the birth ritual. Beginning on the second or third day after birth the shaman continues to blow over burned pieces of a termitary (*suere butu*; quemado de comejen) for about a week. The actual blowing (*butu keare*) takes place every evening after sunset at the centre of the house. The shamanised pieces of *butu* are then given to the mother to taste, separately or together with shamanised pepper. The *butu* shamanism is explicitly directed to the mother and child, not to the father. I was told that shamanised *butu* promotes the growth of the child "and is good for the mother"²). It appears that the *butu* shamanism is connected with the gradual return to normal eating habits for the mother. Shamanised ground termites (*butua*) are also an important food item for the mother during the period of food restrictions. Apparently there exists a symbolic connection between ground termites, burned pieces of soil from the termitary and physical growth. The symbolic analogy between the growth of the child from the mother's womb and the growth of food plants out of the burned garden soil is close at hand.

5. A shaman gave me the following summary account of the ritual sequence and order of shamanistic activities which followed the birth of his own daughter: The first day he blew over bees-wax (*werea*), red paint (*ngwāñi*), cassava bread and ants. The second day he blew over *butu*. The third day he gave his daughter a name. The fourth day his wife and daughter bathed in the river. The fifth day he performed the pepper-shamanism. The sixth day the mother and child were painted black all over their bodies.

This is the only information I have about bees-wax shamanism (*werea wanore*) in connection with birth. I don't know its significance in this context, but mention it as it plays a prominent role in other life cycle rituals.

6. Body painting forms part of the symbolism of the birth ritual. I was told that immediately after the mother has entered the house with the newborn baby,

the father should apply shamanised red paint on the chest and both temples of the child (and mother?), and that he himself should "suck" the red paint, thus receiving paint on his lips. In one case observed, the father painted the mother and child (male), and was himself similarly painted by the shaman. In another case the mother "sucked" the red paint while the father, a shaman, and the child (female) were not painted at all. The red paint is believed to protect from diseases like back- and chest aches (*ñoseri*) caused by magical darts (*waka*).

Before the mother and child take the ritual bath in the river, they should be painted with shamanised red paint. I did not see this actually happen. I was also told that the mother and child are stained with black body paint (*we*) when they bathe in the river, but I don't know whether this was supposed to be before or after the bath (see however point 5 above).

7. During the period of confinement, both parents (as well as the officiating shaman) are strictly forbidden to bathe in the river until the shaman has performed the bath shamanism (*gua keare*). The Makuna explained this prohibition on the part of the mother (and child) with reference to a myth in which a mythical heroe (*Cajesawari*) blew the snuff of the sun, which is equated with "celestial fire" (*umakañi hea*) into the underworld river (*wama riaka*). The underworld river is connected with the rivers of the earth. Therefore, the Makuna say, there is celestial fire in the rivers. If a mother bathes in the river immediately after birth she may contract an eye disease (*caje bisu*; literally darts in her eyes), and the Jurupari will enter her body and kill her (*he bihi rangu eha*; see below on male initiation).

The ritual bath marks the end of the period of confinement and restrictions for both parents, though the mother will continue to be subject to food restrictions for some time. Both parents have to be magically prepared for the bath. My data indicate that the bath-shamanism differs and is performed separately for father and mother-child. The father, thus, takes the ritual bath in the river a day or two before the mother and child. On the evening of the second or third day after the birth the shaman blows over snuff (*meno wanore*) which he then gives to the father. By means of a "snuff blower" (*meno raga*) the father blows the snuff up his nose. He may then bathe in the river. After this, the father asks the shaman to perform the pepper shamanism for him. A day or two later the shaman blows over red paint (*ngunañi wanore*) for the mother and child. They apply the shamanised paint on their bodies and then bathe in the river. After this, the mother receives the shamanised *butu*, usually a couple of days after the ritual bath.

Genealogical relationship between officiating shaman and child

As there is only very few shamans at any point in time that have the necessary knowledge to perform birth shamanism the genealogical relationships between officiating shaman/s and child expectedly vary considerably. Birth shamanism establishes a strong and enduring relationship, recognized throughout life, between the officiating shaman and the child. The table below shows the relationship between the shaman/s and child (ego) in twelve birth cases:

Table 1

Genealogical relationship	Generational distance	Agnatic relative	Affinal relative	No. of relationships
F	+1	+		4
FF	+2	+		3
FFB	+2	+		1
FFBS	+1	+		1
MF	+2		+	1
FZH	+1		+	2
FZHB	+1		+	1
Distant affine			+	3
Totals		(9)	(7)	16

Note that more than one shaman may blow over the same child at different stages of the ritual sequence. One shaman may officiate at birth, others may perform food shamanism at different stages: pepper shamanism, fish-shamanism and meat shamanism. All these shamanistic activities are considered by the Makuna as parts of the birth shamanism (*riaka keare*). In one family four different shamans were engaged in birth shamanism at one stage or another for five of the children.

Naming

The officiating shaman gives a name (*keare wame*; "blowing name") to the newborn child on the third or fourth day after birth, and apparently before the ritual bath. I never observed any particular name giving ritual. The Makuna say that the shaman simply gives a name to the child. In discussions with the Makuna on this topic it was quite clear that the name of the child should ideally be a name of a deceased patrilinear relative of the grandparental generation. Such a name is classified as *bukw wame* (ancestor name). It is difficult to assess to what extent this ideal is actually realised in practise, but it is clear from my genealogical data that it is not uncommon. The name bestowed upon the child at birth, which I will call the "spirit name", is never to be mentioned. A person is never addressed nor referred to by his or her spirit name. During her life time each individual acquires additional names. These other names are a sort of "nick names", referring to personal characteristics or habits of the individual. Nowadays most Indians also have a Spanish name. An individual is thus addressed or referred to by a relationship term, a nick name or the Spanish name.

It appears as if each Makuna sib possesses a particular set of spirit names which ideally are circulated between its members in alternating generations. This is consistent with the idea that the life cycle of the grand parents ends at the point in time when the life cycle of the grand children begins. The life cycle of the grand child is thus seen as a continuation or renewal of the life cycle of the grandparent. This idea of spiritual identification between grand parents and grand children is expressed by the ideal of name transmission.

Finally, there is also some evidence that among the Makuna the spirit names of each sib are divided into sub-sets of names according to the model of five agnatic brothers, differentiated by birth-order and specialist functions, which characterises Vaupés social structure in general (see Hugh-Joneses). Each exogamous group - a set of sibs closely related as "brothers" to each other - is thus ideally modelled upon a set of five agnatic brothers, representing the following specialist functions: chief (*wiku*), chanter (*yuanu*), warrior (*gwanu*),

shaman (*kumu*), and servant (*josa*) in this order of seniority. As the sibs of each exogamous group are associated with specialist functions, the spirit names of each sib appear to be divided into sub-sets of names, each associated with a specialist role. But this relationship between spirit names and specialist functions, it should be stressed, is ideal rather than real, and thus, like the relationship between sib and specialist role, obtains only partially in actual practise. The following are the names of four living sons of one man, in order of seniority: *buguamu meneyasiri*, *mene kumu*, *afia* and *weya*. The first and the third name, I was told, are warrior names (*guamu wame*) and the second is a shaman's name (*kumu wame*)³. The last name was not explicitly associated with a specialist role, but is a *buku wame* (ancestor name) shared also by the FeBS of the child. I don't know the name of the first born son of this man.

Interpretation

My interpretation of the rituals accompanying birth is based partially on the fragmentary data presented above, but also on the data on the other life cycle rituals presented in subsequent parts of the paper. Its plausibility should thus be assessed in the context of the total system of ideas and ritual behaviour, of which the birth ritual is a part. The Makuna say that human beings are composed of body (*ruhu*) and soul (*usil*). This dualism of body and spirit is made explicit in their conception of death and after-life, and underlies the birth ritual. The newborn baby is created out of the mother's blood and the father's semen. The semen contains spiritual substance; it is life giving and makes the child grow in the womb of the mother. The child is, as it were, physically created by the mother and spiritually created by the father. Both parents are equally necessary for the birth of a child. The physical and spiritual continuity between parents and child is the rationale for the confinement and restrictions of the parents after birth.

The newborn baby is also identified with a deceased person of same sex in the grandparental generation. The naming practice expresses this spiritual continuity between grandparent and grandchild. At birth the soul of a deceased grandparent enters into the body of the newborn baby. For the first few days after birth the spiritual identity and integrity of the child is not definitely fixed. The child passes through a liminal period during which he or she does not yet constitute a separate human being; the child is not yet fully separated from the parents nor from the souls of the recently dead. Naming establishes the spiritual identity of the child, and the ritual bath of mother and child symbolises the rebirth of the child as a separate human being of soul and body.

During the liminal period of the child, when he or she is yet not fully separated from the world of the recently dead nor from the living parents, the child as well as the parents are extremely vulnerable. As the child is still conceived as part of the parents, these have to subject themselves to a series of restrictions. The liminal period of the child thus corresponds to a period of confinement and restrictions on the part of the parents.

There is clearly an element in the Makuna birth customs which could be called "couvade" - male child birth. Riviere (1974) defines couvade as "the set of ideas and related conventional behaviour that intimately associates a man with the birth of his child". The confinement, the strict diet and the other restrictions to which a father is subject during the period immediately after the birth of his child, associates him intimately to his child. There is a sense in which we may say that the custom of couvade establishes the social fatherhood of the child (comp. Maybury-Lewis, 1974:65). But the couvade "says" a lot more than this. Riviere (1974) has suggested that the custom of couvade addresses itself to the problem of man's dual nature; if the mother creates the child physically, the couvade "says" that

the father creates the child spiritually - that is, couvade is concerned with the spiritual formation of the child. This interpretation is, as we have seen, certainly applicable to the Makuna birth customs. But my data raises a further point of interest in this context. Among the Makuna it is not only the father and mother who are subject to confinement and restrictions after birth, but also the officiating shaman. In fact, the shaman and the father seem to be subject to almost identical restrictions, and different from those of the mother and child. Riviere's analysis would suggest that, in some way both the father and the officiating shaman stand in a similar relationship to the child. Clearly, then, couvade can not be explained only in terms of the spiritual continuity between father and child. In Makuna thought both parents and the officiating shaman are closely tied to the child during the liminal period following upon birth. The child is physically part of the mother and spiritually part of the father as well as the ancestral world. At the same time, the shaman, through the birth shamanism, enters into direct contact with the life spirit of the child, which is also the soul of a recently dead grandparent of the child. The task of the shaman is to guide and protect the soul of the dead in its journey from the house of the dead (*masa yuhiri buku wi*) into the body of the newborn child. In his shamanistic activities the shaman does so by accompanying the soul on this journey from the world of the dead to the world of the living. This journey represents the transformation of the soul of one recently dead into the life spirit of the newborn baby, and is completed by the naming of the child. The confinement and restrictions on the part of the parents and the shaman should, then, be understood in light of the Makuna belief that they are all directly involved - in different ways - in the physical and spiritual formation of the child at birth.

A comparative note

In the northwest Amazon in general birth customs seem to be similar with respect to the physical separation of father and mother at birth, and the union of parents and child during a brief period (three days to a week) of confinement and restrictions immediately after the birth. Birth rituals, however, vary widely in details and particularly with respect to the interval between the actual birth and the naming ceremony.

Among the Barasana the birth customs are similar to those of the Makuna. The first foods shamanised for the child are the mother's milk and the *kana* fruit. Though I have no evidence of this among the Makuna I believe that it is also true for them. At the end of the period of confinement, father, mother and child are smeared with red paint, and after the river has "been made safe" through shamanism, the three of them bathe together. The naming ceremony apparently takes place a couple of days after birth, though C. Hugh-Jones (1977:161) expresses doubts that this was the "traditional" practice. The name is transferred shamanically from a recently dead grandfather or grandmother to the male and female child respectively by means of red paint and mother's milk.⁴⁾

Among the Cubeo a period of confinement of three days for both parents is observed. The period of confinement and restrictions ends with three major rites: the blowing over food for parents and child; making the river safe for the parents and child; and the removal of the child's fetal skin by painting the body of the child black with genipa. Naming takes place after about a year. At the naming ceremony the shaman blows over milk and genipa (black paint). The child drinks the shamanised milk and is then painted black.

Finally, among the Desana there is a nail-cutting ceremony a couple of months after birth, when a woman cuts and burns the nails of the child. The woman who cuts the nails of the child, as well as the woman who cuts the

umbilical cord of the newborn baby enters into a special and recognized relationship with the child. The naming ceremony takes place about three years after the birth. It is an elaborate ritual involving the whole long-house community. Briefly, it consists of a ritual procession from the port of the river up to the maloca. When the participants of the procession have entered the maloca, the shaman chants myths about the origin of the sib and recites the genealogy of the child. Finally he gives a name to the child, usually the name of an animal associated with the sib.

MALE INITIATION

The male initiation ritual among the Barasana, northern neighbours of the Makuna, has been fully described and analysed by the Hugh-Joneses. As far as I can judge from my own data, their analysis is valid also for the Makuna initiation ritual, which in all essentials is identical with that of the Barasana. In this brief paper I will, therefore, limit myself to present some ethnographic details and suggest some analytical ideas which, I feel, complement the description and analysis provided by the Hugh-Joneses, and which may be of comparative interest. First, however, a general outline of the ritual sequence.

Male initiation and the Jurupari ritual complex

Male initiation consists of a sequence of rituals, extending over more than a year and involving the use of sacred horns (*he* or *sama*), called Jurupari (Yurupari) in local Spanish as well as in the ethnographic literature. Technically speaking there are among the Makuna at least two types of Jurupari instruments, both made out of the trunk of the Paxiubba palm: the flutes - long black polished tubes -, and the trumpets - short tubes, each elongated by a trumpet-like cone made of fresh strips of bark wound round the end of the tube.

The Makuna classify the Jurupari instruments according to their ritual functions and degree of "sacredness" into two classes: the forest fruit Jurupari (*he rika samara*) and the true Jurupari (*he bukura*; "old Jurupari"). The latter are the most sacred ones and are said to be as ancient as the world itself. The forest fruit Jurupari, which are recognized as man-made, are used during the first phase of initiation together with the ritual distribution of wild forest fruits. The true Jurupari instruments are shown to the initiate at the culmination of the male initiation and without ritual the distribution of forest fruits. The whole sequence of male initiation process can be divided into three phases: one initial phase during which a group of initiates (*ngamo*; generally between 10 - 15 years old) are shown the less sacred forest fruit Jurupari at repeated occasions, a second culminating phase during which the initiates are shown the sacred true Jurupari instruments, and a terminal phase during which the initiates again are shown the forest fruit Jurupari at repeated occasions, beginning soon after the culminating ritual. The first phase can be considered as a gradual preparation for the culminating ritual, which usually takes place on the second year of initiation, and the third and final phase can be seen as a gradual passage into adult status and return to ordinary life. The whole sequence may take a couple of years or more if the initiate is a young boy. During this entire period the initiate is referred to as *ngamo* (first simply *ngamo*; later he is referred to as *ngamo hndare*, and finally, in the third phase he is called *ngamo buku* - "old *ngamo*").

It should be stressed that not all Jurupari ceremonies - and particularly not those involving the forest fruit Jurupari - are necessarily connected with male initiation. Jurupari ceremonies may be performed to celebrate various events in the life of the Makuna: the coming into season of certain wild fruits (like *mene*, *huhia*, *mihi* and *fiomu*) or the termination of a new maloca. In my view,

the Jurupari ritual should be considered a "vehicle" for symbolically expressing the transition from childhood to adult status in the case of boys. The Jurupari ritual is not in itself an initiation ritual, but male initiation requires and entails participation in the Jurupari ritual complex (comp. Maybury-Lewis, 1974:269 on the waia ritual). I shall come back to this point below.

Any Jurupari ritual is a large scale social and religious event in which members of the whole territorial group participate. Often a Jurupari ritual gathers more than 100 participants, men, women and children. The Jurupari rituals are the focus and supreme expression of Makuna religious life (as they are among the Barasana). The forest fruit rituals are abbreviated and less elaborated versions of the main Jurupari ritual (involving the true Jurupari instruments). The former are ideally held several times a year - before and immediately after the main Jurupari ceremony - which is held at most once a year in each territory - in March or April, at the end of the long dry season and the beginning of the long wet season. The regular and seasonal timing of the Jurupari rituals supports the contention that they are not necessarily concerned with male initiation. Jurupari rituals are as important for the already initiated young men and elders as they are for the first initiates. In short, the Jurupari rituals are considered by the Makuna as necessary for individual well-being in general, as well as for the social survival of the entire community.

Though women and children as well as men are believed to benefit from the proper performance of Jurupari rituals, the women and children are strictly forbidden to see the Jurupari instruments. In fact, men and women are socially differentiated by the Makuna on the grounds that men see the Jurupari, while women, like small children, do not. Still the fact that women and children are prohibited to see the Jurupari instruments is central to the understanding of the whole ritual complex. This will be discussed in my interpretation of the male initiation ritual.

The Jurupari instruments: elements of the belief system

The following is a number of condensed native statements about the nature, character and origin of the Jurupari⁵). The statements constitute elements of the belief system from which the Jurupari rituals derive their meaning, and thus serve to put the subsequent description of some actual Jurupari rituals into a meaningful context. The apparent incoherence between different statements reflects the complexity of the symbolism involved.

1. The true Jurupari were born by the Woman Creator (*Romi Kumu*; literally "woman shaman") at the centre of the world (*tabotiro*).
2. The father of the Jurupari was *Waso yuk* hinno* ("waso tree anaconda").
3. *Romi Kumu* gave birth to the Jurupari after having eaten caimo fruit (*bo canea*). The juice of the fruit poured down her body and entered her vagina. Thus she conceived the Jurupari. Therefore Jurupari is called "fruit child" (*rika mak**).
4. By means of the Jurupari the Woman Creator and the male mythical heroes (*Ayawa masa*) created the cosmos (*umari*). The primal Jurupari (*Gekero mesa*) was the "measure" of the world; the creators used it to measure the radius of the cosmos and to sustain (*te eyoha*) the levels of the cosmos (see fig. below). All living beings are created out of the Jurupari at the centre of the world. Therefore all living beings - animals and plants - share in the creative substance of the Jurupari (*he boca amire*; "received the Jurupari").

5. The Woman Creator first owned the Jurupari. The Jurupari belonged to women. The first men - the male mythical heroes - had only *sebero* (a sort of small whistle occasionally made for certain rituals among the Makuna, apparently substituting the Jurupari instruments). *Sebero* was the elder brother of Jurupari (*samu rihore*). But the male mythical heroes stole the Jurupari from the Woman Creator. Ever since then the Jurupari have belonged to the men and been prohibited to women. Every time the men play the Jurupari the Woman Creator becomes sad and furious. She becomes dangerous to men as Jurupari is dangerous to women and children.

6. The male mythical heroes burned the Jurupari. From the ashes grew the Jurupari palm (*Paxiuba*; *he ño*). All sorts of animals and plants were also created out of the ashes of the burned Jurupari. All animals that bite, sting or burn (*hunia*) received the fire of the Jurupari (*he heame boka amire*). The tree providing the bark used to wind around the Jurupari trumpet also grew up from the ashes beside the Jurupari palm. All this happened at the centre of the world.

7. From the Jurupari palm the male mythical heroes made the first Jurupari instruments. They divided up the trunk of the Jurupari palm and distributed the different instruments between the different ancestors of the people.

8. The Woman Creator gave birth to the ancestral anacondas (*hino ria*) at the Water doorway (*ide sohe*) in the east. The ancestral anacondas swam upriver towards the centre of the world populating the world with the first people. When the different ancestral anacondas arrived and gathered at the centre of the world, each of them received a different set of Jurupari instruments made out of the primal Jurupari palm. Therefore each people has its proper set of Jurupari.

9. The Jurupari are the life spirit (*usi*) of the people (*masa*); the breath of the sib. The Jurupari keep the people alive. Without the Jurupari the people (the sib) would not exist.

10. The true Jurupari were born with the world itself and will never die. They are eternal and immortal.

11. To ordinary men the Jurupari instruments appear to be trumpets and flutes but they are in fact jaguars (*he yaia*). They are Jurupari people (*he masa*). Shamans see the Jurupari as jaguars, as Jurupari people.

12. The Jurupari instruments are shamans (*kumua*). They are fierce, dangerous and powerful as jaguars (*yaia*). Shamans possess the spirit of the Jurupari (*kumu i he kati yami*).

13. When ordinary people drink *yagé* (*kahi ide*) and play the Jurupari instruments they themselves become jaguars (*he yaia*); they turn into Jurupari people (*he masa*) and they see the Jurupari instruments as jaguars.

The Jurupari instruments of the Komana Makuna: names and categories

Each sib owns and keeps a particular set of Jurupari instruments. The set of Jurupari instruments is practically the only tangible corporate property of the sib. The set of Jurupari instruments is usually distributed between various local segments of the sib. When not in use the Jurupari instruments are hidden in the forest, away from the house, and from women and children. At a site only known by the initiated men, they are kept under water in a small stream.

In the Komena territory I know of at least four different sites where Jurupari instruments are kept. At the first site I was told that there were more than 20 pairs of Jurupari instruments belonging to the Saina, the Hemoa and the Yiba sibs. These instruments included both true Jurupari and forest fruit Jurupari (including nos: 1, 2, 3 in the table below). At the second site there were instruments of the Saina segment of the Nikona group and at least two pairs of forest fruit Jurupari of the Roe sib (no: 12 and 13 in the table below). At the third site there were only two pairs of forest fruit Jurupari of the Hemoa sib segment in the headwaters of the Nikona stream (no: 14 in the table). Finally, at the last site there were supposed to be a number of Jurupari instruments belonging to the Roe sib segment in the headwaters of Komena River and the Rokahana sib (Tuyuka).

It is interesting to observe that at three of the four sites Jurupari instruments belonging to different - and even affinally classified - sibs are kept together. It appears that inter-marrying and spatially concentrated sib-segments tend to keep their Jurupari instruments together.

The Jurupari instruments are, as I noted earlier, differentiated technically into flutes (long and short ones) and trumpets, and conceptually into true Jurupari and forest fruit Jurupari. They are furthermore differentiated with respect to gender into male and female instruments, and into instruments with a strong (*oka kura*) and weak (*oka mutanga*) voice. I was told that the instruments conceived of as male have a strong voice and those conceived of as female a weak voice. Otherwise the gender of the instrument is known from its name and identity. All Jurupari instruments have names, many of which are names of animals. Each name refers to a pair of instruments. The Jurupari instruments are always played in pairs, and each pair represents one gender - that is not a couple of male and female instruments. My data seem to indicate that, on the one hand, a name often denotes several pairs of instruments - that is, a category of instruments rather than a particular pair -, and, on the other hand, that the names are not always specific for any particular sib - that is, a name may denote instruments belonging to various sibs.⁶⁾ The table below summarises my data on the Jurupari instruments of the Komena Makuna with respect to the criteria of differentiation mentioned above:

Table 2

No.	Name	Category		Sib	Other characteristics
		HB	HRS		
1	Oeia beroa	X		Yiba, Saina	
2	Gekero buku	x		Yiba, Hemoa, Saina	Male
3	Asia mesa/ Asia buku	X		Yiba	Male
4	Hu herehu/ Hu hearungu	X		Saina	
5	Nama sabo	X		Yiba, Saina	
6	Noko/nama sabo maku	X		Yiba, Hemoa, Saina	Male
7	Tata wasoa	X		Yiba, Hemoa, Saina	
8	Weko buku/o	X		Yiba	Gender not known
9	Sei buku	X?		Seara	Female
10	Kata wasoa	X		Yiba	
11	Kata hoa	X?		Hemoa, Seara	Female, long flute, weak voice
12	Buje tutu		X	Roe	
13	Wena dura		X	Roe	
14	Jamo		X	Hemoa, Saina	Male, trumpet
15	Bosoro		X	?	Male/female, short flute, strong voice

No.	Name	Category		Sib	Other characteristics
		HB	HRS		
16	Weko		X	Yiba, Hemoa	Strong/weak voice
17	Diabi mesa/ Diabi goro		X	Saina, Rasika	Strong/weak voice, trumpet, female
18	Mene huro		X?	?	
19	Sina buha ma/ Sina buko/Suiga buko/He rika hako buko	X?	X?	Hemoa	Female

HB : *He buka* (true Jurupari)

HRS: *He rika samara* (forest fruit Jurupari)

In conclusion, there are at least nine named classes of true Jurupari instruments among the Komena Makuna, five of which are common to two or more sibs (standing in "affinal" as well as "brother" relationships to each other). There are at least six classes of forest fruit Jurupari, three of which apparently are common to two or more sibs. The Diabi mesa comprise at least eight pairs of instruments, the Bosoro and Jamo two pairs each, and the Weko five pairs of instruments. This fact may explain the apparent inconsistencies in the table: some classes of instruments appear to contain both male and female instruments as well as instruments with both strong and weak voices.

The Jurupari ritual: two cases

During my fieldwork six Jurupari rituals were held among the Komena Makuna. One of them, which I was not able to assist, was a main Jurupari ritual involving the true Jurupari at the culmination of a male initiation. All the other involved the forest fruit Jurupari and the ritual distribution of wild forest fruits. The table below summarises some essential characteristics of these six Jurupari rituals.

Table 3

Case	Date	Sponsoring sib/ local group	Jurupari used: name [*]	sib	Comment
1	04.11.72	Saina (lower Komena)	1,2,3	Yiba	Distribution of <i>mene</i> , preparatory for main Jurupari ritual
2	15.04.73	Saina (lower Komena)	11,18,16, 15	Rasika, Hemoa	Distribution of forest fruits
3	01.06.73	Hemoa (upper Nikona)	14 (one pair)	Hemoa	Distribution of <i>mihi</i> to celebrate completion of new house
4	14.06.73	Saina (lower Komena)	12,13	Roe	Distribution of <i>mihi</i>
5	July-73	Saina (Nikona)	1,2,3,4, 5,6,9,10, 14	Yiba, Saina, Seara	Culmination of male initiation ritual
6	20.11.73	Saina (Nikona)	11,15,14 18		Distribution of <i>mene</i> , initial phase of initi- ation ritual

The Saina segment on lower Komena prepared a forest fruit Jurupari ritual to be held in late May 1973. This ritual was postponed in the last moment and was substituted by a *sebero* ritual.

* The numbers refer to table 2 above.

The first important thing to note in the table is that there is clearly no immediate relation between the sib-affiliation of the sponsors and the sib-affiliation of the Jurupari instruments used. Thus segments of one sib sponsor rituals in which instruments belonging to other sibs are used (cases 1,2,4). The explanation is, apparently, that the performance and participation in the ritual is in itself more important than the identity and sib affiliation of the Jurupari instruments used. Similarly, it appears to matter little if the initiates see the instruments of their own sib or the instruments of other sibs. In several cases initiates came from other territories to assist Jurupari rituals in the Komena territory because there were no rituals held in their own territory at the proper time, or again because their own sib-segment owned no proper Jurupari instruments (as was the case, f.ex. with the *Umua* sib-segment in Komena).

The second, and perhaps more important, observation is that Jurupari instruments classified (in discussions with various informants) as true Jurupari (*he bukura*) were used on one occasion (case 1) in a ritual involving the distribution of forest fruit, and therefore, in the context of this particular ritual, were said to be forest fruit Jurupari. Analogously, Jurupari instruments generally classified as forest fruit Jurupari were used together with true Jurupari instruments during the culmination of the male initiation ceremony, and were, therefore, referred to as true Jurupari in the context of that particular ritual (case 5). Now, this suggests that the conceptual distinction between true Jurupari and forest fruit Jurupari is contextual rather than absolute: in some contexts the true Jurupari instruments are used as if they were forest fruit Jurupari and vice versa. The same pair of instruments may play different roles in different ritual contexts.

In the following I describe in some detail two of the Jurupari rituals which I assisted (fully in one case, and only partially in the other), and which both formed part of the ritual sequence of male initiation. The details provide a basis for my generalisations on the male initiation ritual (see synthesis below).

1. The first case describes the central sequence of events at the forest fruit Jurupari ritual held in November 1973 - in the *mene*-fruit season. The ritual was said to be performed for one first initiate (a boy of Saina sib), who was to see the Jurupari for the first time, and two recent-initiates (Saina and Yiba) who had seen forest fruit Jurupari a couple of times before. It was a large-scale ceremony involving some 20 adult men, plus their wives and children. My description begins the second day of the ritual, when most of the elder men arrive. The Jurupari instruments were brought to the house by the young men and recent initiates on the preceding evening, but were kept and played outside the house during the night.

In the morning, the Jurupari instruments are brought into the house with *mene*-fruits through the front door. The women and children have already left the house through the backdoor. There are six or seven pairs of instruments - two pairs of flutes and the rest trumpets. The flutes are Kata hoa and Bosoro (see table 2). The trumpets are Jamo and Diabi mesa (several pairs). Once the Jurupari instruments have entered the men play and dance with them continuously but somewhat passively. The host and an old man prepare *yagé*. Meanwhile a young man distributes the ceremonial feather head-dresses between the participant men. The dancing and playing stops while the men adorn themselves. The two pairs of flutes are also decorated with tail feathers from the *Oropendula* bird (*umu hiko*). The pair of ceremonial staffs (*bisu-*) are similarly decorated. When this is done the Jurupari instruments are put to rest while the men drink *yagé*. The trumpets are placed horizontally on a low bench and the flutes are placed vertically on opposite sides of the central corridor of the *maloca*.

Then the dancing and playing starts anew, but now more intensively and more formally than before. The dancers playing the flutes perform a dance with strikingly erotic movements of body and flutes. They rhythmically sway their hips and the flutes are moved up and down and in a circle in front of the players. The pair of Kata hoa flutes is played most frequently; it begins and ends each playing session. An old man and his young son play this pair together most of the time. While this goes on, the first-initiate is sitting absolutely still, silent and grave on a stool by one of the central pillars.

After dancing and playing the Jurupari instruments intensely all morning, by midday, the men form a procession and walk from the house down to the river, pair after pair, dressed in full ritual regalia and playing the horns. The players lead the procession, then comes a young man leading the two recent-initiates by hand, and last an old man leading the first-initiate, also by hand. They all bathe in the river and immerse the instruments. Then the procession returns to the house where the dancing and playing of the horns is continued.

In the afternoon the shaman calls out for the whips (*yukaga*). A bunch of already prepared whips is brought into the house. The shaman blows magical spells over the whips and then announces that they are ready for use. Everyone (except the initiates) grabs a whip. Now starts an expressively aggressive ceremony. The players in pairs form a circle. Outside this circle, three men walk without horns, waving their whips. Suddenly the playing stops. All the men in the circle, whips in hand, start stamping the ground and slowly moving around (like in the turtle dance - *guga basa*). Then two of the three men outside the circle enter into the center of the circle of players. Facing each other they call all the men to come, one by one. The initiates, except the first-initiate, who is not whipped, come first, then the young men and last the old men. After being whipped each man rushes loudly screaming towards the women's door at the rear of the house. Finally, when all are whipped, someone screams "throw out the whips". All men at once dash towards the front door and throw out the whips. Then the playing of the horns continues until late afternoon.

At dusk bees-wax (*werea*) and resin (*gube*) are burned. The host moves up and down the central corridor of the house, and then in a circle with the players behind him and with the burning and smelling bees-wax on a potsherd in his hand. Then the shaman takes the lead in the procession. The ceremony is repeated outside, in front of the house, and then the playing again continues inside. At sunset the horns are taken out and hidden behind a palm-leaf screen outside the men's door. Then all men leave the house and remove their goods. The women enter through the backdoor. They occupy the rear end of the house and light their fires. Then the men reenter with their goods.

Later in the evening a dance ritual (*ñasa basa*) begins in which women as well as men participate. The dance continues throughout the night. The sound of the Jurupari horns is heard from the outside now and then. At midnight the host ritually distributes the *mene*-fruits between the participant families.

Before dawn the following day, the Jurupari horns are returned to their hiding place in the forest. The shaman blows over cassava, pepper and *mene* fruits, which are then tasted by the men. Then the guests set off home. In the house where I stayed the headman immediately blew over "small fish" (*wairia*), which was then eaten by the men. For the first couple of days no-one drank hot cassava juice. In the evening the first day after the ritual, the old men tasted shamanised pepper and salt mixture from the *keti bu* (bag of shamanised substances). Two days later the men ate fish and meat as usual.

2. The second case describes the events preceding and following the Jurupari ritual in November 1972, including the marginal period of the participants and the terminal rites a month later. I was not able to observe the climax of the ritual, when the instruments were played inside the house on the second day of the ritual. The ceremony, at which *mene* fruits were ritually distributed, was a preparation for a main Jurupari ritual intended to be held the following year. It was performed for one first-initiate (*Uma sib*) and two recent-initiates (*Uma* and *Saina* sibs).

About a week before the actual ritual the two officiating shamans went to the site where the Jurupari horns were kept and ritually offered them coca (*kahi*), snuff (*mano*) and *butu*. A couple of days before the ritual, the guests began to arrive, their canoes loaded with *mene*-fruits.

Day 1: In the afternoon of the first day of the actual ceremony, the young men and the initiates leave the house together with their *masori* ("teacher") to bring the Jurupari horns. At the site where the horns are kept the *masori* lights a cigar and blows smoke over the Jurupari instruments. At dusk, the party returns to the house playing the horns as it approaches the house. When the women at the house hear the sound of the horns they scream: the jaguars are coming (*yai wadira*). All women and children who are outside hastily enter the house. The doors are shut and an old man covers all the holes in the walls of the house so that the women cannot see through.

Inside the house the old men chant at the centre. The two officiating shamans blow over bees-wax and *butu*. When the horns arrive in front of the house they are received by one of the shamans. He burns bees-wax outside the house and offers shamanised *butu* to the Jurupari horns. Then the young men continue to play the horns outside the house, walking in procession around it and stopping in front of the men's door. The shamans continue to blow over bees-wax and *butu*, and also over coca and snuff. I was told that the shamans do so to control the dangerous and fierce Jurupari.

Later in the evening, the backdoor is again opened and the women are free to leave the house. The Jurupari instruments are still played in front of the house, the front door being closed. The shamans together with the host offer coca, snuff and beer to the Jurupari and the players. The young men and the initiates stay outside with the Jurupari horns all night. At dawn the horns are hidden behind a palm-leaf screen outside the front door.

Day 2: In the morning of the second day the women and children eat cassava bread and pepper sauce. The old men eat only cassava. The young men and initiates are still outside the house. After the meal the women and children leave the house through the backdoor and go to another house downstream. Then the young men and initiates enter the house, eat some cassava bread and leave again. The front door is now open and the back door shut. The situation is thus reversed from that of last night. The Jurupari then enter the house. There are three pairs of horns: two male and one female pair, two pairs of trumpets and one pair of flutes. They are *Asia mesa*, *Geckero baka* and *Oeia beroa*.

At dusk the Jurupari leave the house and are hidden behind the screen at the front door. The women and children enter the house through the back door. The back door is open and the front door closed. Then the dance festival (*Nasa basa*) begins. The dance, in which men and women participate, lasts till the following morning. While the old men and women dance inside, the young men and initiates play the horns outside.

Day 3: The men rest the whole day. The shamans blow over cassava, palmheart and ants. The men then eat the shamanised food from a large basket. Except for

this meal of shamanised food the men eat nothing but the ritual food - beer and coca - and *mane*-fruit. During the marginal period that now follows, the initiates stay and sleep outside the house. They are absolutely prohibited from entering the women's part of the house (the rear end), and they are not allowed to talk or come close to the women. During this marginal period the men dedicate most of their time to crafts and the preparation of coca. They are not allowed to hunt or fish, nor to eat fish and meat. They sleep apart from the women and children; the men sleep in the central corridor of the house, the women and children towards the sides.

Day 4: The initiates leave early in the morning to collect palmheart. From now on, palmheart, together with cassava bread, will be their principal food. The women leave for their daily garden work and the men go to collect coca leaves. The shamans blow over *somo misi* - leaves from a "soap vine" - which they then give to the men (and initiates?). They smear themselves with the juice from the leaves. I was told that this is to "expel the Jurupari from their bodies".

Day 6: The men again smear themselves with shamanised *somo misi*. I was told that they also drink a mixture of *somo misi* and water. The initiates participate in this rite of "purification".

Day 8: The women start to bake cassava bread for the cassava dance (*nahu basa*). This is done on a separate oven, constructed particularly for this purpose. The bread is very thick and starchy. No man is allowed to come close to the oven. The chanter (*yuamu*) prepares special feather head-dresses for the dance. While he is doing this he is secluded from the rest of the house behind a palm-leaf screen at the front of the house. The shamans blow over two gourds of *butu*. All men and initiates taste the shamanised *butu*.

Day 10. The men and women share a communal meal - the first since the Jurupari ceremony - of shamanised fish and pepper sauce. The initiates do not participate.

Day 12. The bread for the cassava dance is now ready. It is stored in a large heap between the two central pillars at the rear end of the house. The heap of bread is wrapped up carefully in big banana leaves. Each bread is cut in about five slices. The heap is about 1 m. high and contains approximately 50 cakes.

Day 14: The initiates now taste shamanised pepper and small fish (*wai ria*) for the first time after the ritual. The women paint the men and initiates with red and black body paint. The black body paint is applied in the "basket" pattern used in common dance festivals.

Day 15: This is the day of the cassava dance. At noon a preliminary dance starts. It is called the "tapir dance" (*wek basa*). The main dance - the cassava dance - starts around midnight and continues, with a break for the ritual distribution of cassava bread, till midnight next day. During the night, the shamans blow over pepper and fish for the initiates. The ritual distribution of cassava bread takes place at noon the following day, and is lead by the host. Men and women alike receive slices of cassava bread.

Day 17: The day following upon the cassava festival the shamans blow over salt for the men. Having tasted the shamanised mixture of pepper and salt the men may now eat salt fish. The initiates are still not allowed to taste big fish (*wai*) or salt food.

Day 18: Most of the guests, who up till now have stayed in the house of the host, return to their homes. Some men, including one of the two shamans, stay on.

Day 27: All the participants in the Jurupari ceremony are again invited by the original host to assist the terminal rite of food blessing. This takes place two days later. Many of the participants bring smoked pieces of tapir meat to the host. A big dance festival (*wai basa*) is held. Throughout the night the two officiating shamans blow over pieces of smoked tapir meat (*weku ri*). In the morning the day after the dance, the men taste the shamanised meat and then return to their houses. They are now allowed to eat all ordinary food including salted and smoked meat. This marks the end of the marginal period for the men. The initiates, and (at least) one of the shamans, are still not allowed to eat meat, nor salted or smoked food.

Elements of the male initiation ritual: a synthesis

Male initiation is a gradual process. The initiate passes through a whole series of Jurupari ceremonies. Each such ceremony contains in itself several ritual sequences, unfolding, so to speak, parallelly and simultaneously. Thus the ritual sequences of the different categories of participants - the initiates, the young men and elders - and the roles they play in the ritual, differ significantly. Even within the category of initiates (*ngamoa*) there are significant sub-categories: the first-initiates, who see the forest fruit Jurupari for the first time; the recent-initiates, who are whipped for the first time (*ngamo hūdare*; this apparently occurs at the second Jurupari ritual); and the initiates who see the true Jurupari for the first time (*ngamo bukua*). From one Jurupari ceremony to another, a participant may move from one sub-category to another or from one category to another. This obviously makes the description of the Jurupari ceremonies very difficult, and the observer is likely to miss a number of significant facts and events of the rite (which is apparent from my own description above).

The complexity of the male initiation ritual is further enhanced by the fact that the passage from one participant category to another not only depends on the previous experience of Jurupari ceremonies, but also on the absolute age of the initiate. Thus an elder initiate (*buku ngamo*; as distinct from *ngamo buku*) observes a milder form of restrictions and passes on to the next participant sub-category (and category) faster than a younger initiate, independently of their relative experience of Jurupari ceremonies. The implication is that absolute age is more important than the number of assisted Jurupari ceremonies in determining the ritual sequence and the ritual role of the initiate. This indicates that the theme of sexual maturation is an important one in the male initiation ritual.

In the following I summarize those elements of the male initiation ritual which seem to me most essential for an understanding of the male initiation ritual as part of the total system of life cycle rituals among the Makuna. In this discussion I will incorporate data on the main Jurupari ceremony - at the culmination of the male initiation ritual - provided by the Hugh-Joneses on the Barasana. I was never able to observe this ritual among the Makuna, but from verbal information it is clear that the Makuna ritual is identical with that described for the Barasana.

1. Seeing the Jurupari instruments. There are two elements of ritual behaviour unique to male initiation; it is the use of Jurupari instruments and the ceremonial whipping. The participants see the instruments, play them and dance with them. The voice of the Jurupari is referred to as the voice of the jaguar. The dancing contains elements of what appears to be erotic symbolism. When a boy for the first time assists a Jurupari ceremony I was told that he only sees the Jurupari; he is not allowed to play or dance with them. In general the Makuna refer to Jurupari ceremonies as *he tire* - seeing the Jurupari. The act of seeing the Jurupari is stressed in all verbal accounts of

Jurupari rituals. The *masori* (teacher; the man in charge of the initiates) is referred to as the man who shows (*longu*) the instruments to the initiates. When the initiate first sees the Jurupari, his *masori* teaches him about the Jurupari, the myths, the origin, the names and the restrictions involved in seeing the Jurupari as well as the dangers of ignoring them. And, when the time has come, it is the *masori* who teaches the initiate how to play the instruments and how to dance with them.

2. Ritual whipping occurs in the main Jurupari ceremony as well as in rituals involving the distribution of forest fruits. An initiate who sees the forest fruit Jurupari for the first time is not whipped. At subsequent Jurupari rituals the initiate is, however, whipped together with the other participants. The initiate who is whipped for the first time is called *ngamo hadare*. The explicit purpose of the whipping is to make the participants strong, hard and fierce. In the case of the initiates there is an element of growth magic involved (see C. Hugh Jones, 1977 and Goldman, 1963:191).

3. Hair-cutting. Before the initiate is shown the true Jurupari (and perhaps also the forest fruit Jurupari) for the first time his hair is cut.

4. Body-painting. Before the initiate is shown the true Jurupari instruments he is painted all black. The young men are painted all red at the eve of the first day of the main Jurupari ritual, and before they take their ritual bath with the Jurupari instruments. After the whipping the initiates and young men paint each other black. Finally, during the terminal rite at the end of the marginal period, the initiates and young men are painted red by the women. The Makuna say that the initiates remain *bedi* - that is under restrictions - till the black body paint wears off.

The various categories of participants in the Jurupari ceremony are differentiated by the extent to which they are painted black: initiates are painted up to their chins, young men to their waists and elders up to their thighs.

5. The ritual bath. At the main Jurupari ritual the participants bathe in the river twice. At the beginning of the rite the young men bathe with the instruments, before the instruments are brought into the house. Then, towards the end of the rite, all participants, including the initiates, bathe in the river and immerse the instruments. The initiates are carried from the river up to the house like newborn babies (S. Hugh-Jones, 1976). Before the first ritual bath, the young men are painted with shamanised red paint, and before the second bath all participants are painted black. In both cases the men as well as the Jurupari instruments receive shamanised snuff before the bath in the river.

6. Shamanised snuff is administered in the beginning of the rite to the players (and to the instruments) as they arrive at the house. Then, at the climax of the rite, the participants wipe shamanised snuff behind their knees, the explicit purpose being to protect themselves from harm when coming in contact with water (S. Hugh-Jones, 1974:48). Snuff was also offered to the Jurupari instruments before they were brought up to the house. Snuff, together with coca, beer and *yagé*, is the food of the spirits.

7. Shamanised butu is administered to the participants (and the instruments) at several points in the ritual sequence. Before the Jurupari instruments are brought from the forest up to the house, *butu* is offered to them together with snuff and coca. Then, when the instruments arrive at the house, they are again given *butu* and snuff. Towards the end of the marginal period following the actual ceremony, the participants, including the initiates, taste shamanised *butu*. At the end of the main Jurupari ceremony shamanised *butua* is also given to the participants to eat together with ants and cassava bread.

This ritual meal takes place just before the Jurupari instruments are returned to the forest.

8. Shamanised bees-wax (*werea*) is burned at the beginning, climax and end of the actual ceremony. It is burned outside the house to signal the arrival of the Jurupari the first evening. Then, at midnight the second day - at the climax of the rite - it is burned inside the house when the initiates have just seen the true Jurupari for the first time. Finally it is burned towards the end of the ceremony, after the ritual bath of the participants and before the Jurupari are returned to the forest. This ritual burning of bees-wax signals the departure of the Jurupari.

9. The ritual removal of goods (*gaheona bure*) occurs twice during the ceremony: first, the women apparently take out all food and goods associated with women, before the men return from the ritual bath in the river at the climax of the rite, and secondly, the men remove their goods from the house at the end of the ceremony, when the Jurupari have departed and before the women re-enter the house.

10. Ritual purification. At the beginning of the marginal period, the participants are ritually "purified" with *somo misi* - a mixture of soap vine and water. The participants, including the initiates, drink the mixture and smear their bodies with it at repeated occasions during the marginal period. The explicit purpose of this rite is to clean their bodies from the Jurupari (the spirit of the Jurupari is believed to have entered the bodies of the participants during the ritual).

11. Confinement and restrictions. During the ceremony and the following marginal period the male participants are separated from the women and children. The separation is most marked in the case of the initiates. The initiates sleep either outside the house, or in a separate enclosure at the male end of the house, near the front door. After the terminal rite at the end of the marginal period, the initiates leave their enclosure and move into the centre of the house, while the young men and elders move into their family compartments.

When an initiate is shown the true Jurupari instruments for the first time he is obliged to sit absolutely still and silent. He sits on the ground in foetal position. He is not supposed to scratch himself with his hands lest his skin crumple. Instead he has to use a special scratching stick (*horoho*).

During the marginal period the initiates observe a number of restrictions. Most notorious of these are the food restrictions and the avoidance of women and fire. The initiates are not supposed to come close to fire nor women. They must also avoid exposure to the sun.

The marginal period has also a positive side. During this period the initiates learn the men's skills, and they are taught myths, chants and songs. The men spend most of the time between the actual Jurupari ceremony and the terminal rites practicing their skills, making basketry and ritual ornaments.

12. The pepper shamanism marks the end of the marginal period. It is performed separately, first for the young men and the elders, and then for the initiates. The pepper-shamanism for the initiates is performed in the context of a large-scale cassava distribution ritual at which the shamans blow over pepper for the initiate. After tasting the shamanised pepper the initiate for the first time wears the ceremonial feather crown (*maha hoa*). After this rite the initiate is called *ngamo baka* (old initiate). He may now begin to eat shamanised small fish (*wai ria*) and then successively bigger fish (*wai*).

13. Wearing the full ceremonial feather head-dress means for the initiate

the end of the male initiation ritual; the child now enters the category of young men. The feather crown stands for adult status as opposed to childhood, and for maleness as against femaleness. The young men and elders thus wear the feather crowns during the actual Jurupari ceremony. It is significant that also the Jurupari instruments are adorned with feathers during the ceremony.

14. The full return to ordinary diet is marked by a ritual - celebrated some time after the pepper-shamanism - in which smoked tapir meat is shamanised and distributed between the participants of the Jurupari ceremony. After this ritual the participants may eat meat.

The sequence of food shamanism following upon the Jurupari ceremony was described to me by an informant as follows:

1. ants, palmheart, starch cassava and cold drinks
2. pepper
3. small fish (*sea, yuhara, wanea, bahaya*) and hot drinks
4. *unu*
5. *roe, pawa* (big fish)
6. *rutu buku, uhuga, kuriri*
7. tapir meat (meat)

This sequence usually takes a couple of years to complete for a young initiate, but only a couple of weeks for an elder man. The sequence is the same as for a newborn baby.

Two points in the sequence are singled out for special public ceremonies: when pepper and small fish are shamanised, usually together, and when tapir meat is shamanised. The former rite, which is more elaborate than the latter, involves the ritual distribution of cassava. The latter involves the ritual distribution of smoked tapir meat. The former rite marks the end of the marginal period and the gradual return to normal food habits - beginning with fish - and the latter completes the return to normal food habits. The Makuna stressed the fact that an initiate may not eat fish until he has put on the ceremonial feather head-dress, which is done in the context of the rite of pepper shamanism. Finally, the pepper-shamanism, after which fish may be eaten, and the meat shamanism, after which meat may be eaten, are also singled out for special ceremonies in the sequence of food shamanism for a newborn baby (see above).

Ritual relationships

During the male initiation ritual the initiates enter into a number of special relationships with each other and with the young and elder participant men, as well as with the women. These ritual relationships crosscut the secular relationships of kinship and affinity, and provide the initiate with a new and alternative framework of social relationships. It is activated, so to speak, during each subsequent Jurupari ritual throughout the individual's life time, but people do not address or refer to each other by the ritual relationship terms except during the Jurupari rituals. The following is a list of the ritual relationship terms, including native explanations, and with my own translations and comments:

1. *kamuku* (*ngunani tuore waja*; "because of painting each other with red paint"): This term is used reciprocally between men who are initiated together. The native translation refers to the rite when already initiated men paint each other red at the beginning of the Jurupari ceremony.
2. *kanakuku*: Plural form of *kamuku*.
3. *kamukuko* (*ngamo naroka ekare waja*; "because of giving food to the initiate"): This term is used by the initiate to address and refer to the woman who paints the initiate and who provides food for him when he is *bedi*.
4. *mama rame*: This term is the reciprocal of term 3 (female speaker).

5. *umari* (*umare waja*; "because of carrying the initiate"): This term is used reciprocally between the initiate and the old man who carries the initiate into the house at the beginning of the main Jurupari ceremony.

6. *tua ramu*: This term is used reciprocally between the initiate and the (young) man who leads the initiate to the ritual bath in the river.

7. *masori* (*he iore waja*; "because of showing the Jurupari"): This term is used reciprocally between the initiate and his "teacher" (see text above).

8. *kuna bia/guga* ("pepper father/turtle"): Terms used reciprocally between the officiating shaman and the initiate. The initiate calls the shaman who performs the food shamanism for *guga*, and the shaman calls the initiate for *kuna bia*.

9. *maso ramu*: I have no explanation or specification for this term.

10. *kode* (*ngamore kode waja*; "because of watching over the initiate"): Term used reciprocally between the initiate and a (young) man who assist and takes care of the initiate during and after the Jurupari ceremony.

During the Jurupari ceremony the secular framework of social relationships and social categories is thus replaced by a different framework of sacred and ritual relationship categories. In every account of male initiation the Makuna emphasise the solidarity between the participants of the ritual, and the strength of the ritual relationships which unite all the participants.

Interpretation

The symbolism of the Jurupari ritual is profound and highly complex. The Jurupari ritual is the focus and main expression of the Makuna religious life. It communicates the basic premises of the Makuna conception of the world and man's place in it. In the space at my disposal here I can take up only a few themes relating to the symbolism of social order and the relations between the sexes.

1. The Jurupari ritual as a statement about ideal social order. The Jurupari instruments represent ancestral spirits; they embody the patrilineal ancestors of the living. At the main Jurupari ceremony the maloca becomes the world itself. Through the powers of shamanism and hallucinogenic drugs and contact with the sacred paraphernalia the participants of the Jurupari ceremony are taken back to the source of creation. During the rite, the first ancestors, represented by the Jurupari instruments, are brought back to life, and the participants themselves are identified with the ancestral people of mythical times.

As separate pairs, the instruments represent the internal segmentation of the widest descent groups, but as a whole set of pairs all ancestors are brought together in the ritual, and thus represent the unity of the widest descent category at the highest structural level. The different segments of this higher order descent unit come to represent the different parts of the primal ancestral anaconda, reborn and present at the Jurupari ceremony (paraphrased from S. Hugh-Jones, 1976).

The Makuna say that the Jurupari are the life spirit (*asi*) of the sib. The Jurupari are for the sib what the soul is for the body. The Jurupari, then, represent the collective life spirit of the descent group, as the spirit name (*keare wame*) represents the individual life spirit of a person. Without the Jurupari the sib ceases to exist, just as a person cannot live without soul. This is a powerful native metaphor which is, in a sense, sociologically

true: the set of Jurupari instruments is the only tangible corporate property of the sib and, thus, the focus of unity and solidarity between sib-members. In this sense the Jurupari instruments really keep the sib together and "alive". The Jurupari ceremony is indeed the only occasion when the dispersed sib-members feel obliged to come together in joint action.

The Jurupari ceremony symbolically expresses the patrilinear continuity between the mythical ancestors and their living descendants. In this perspective the Jurupari ceremony is concerned with the patrilinear transmission of the collective life spirit of the sib from the ancestors to their human offspring - the present generation of sib-members. The Jurupari ceremony, then, is an ancestor cult, a ritual elaboration of the principle of patrilinear descent which to the Makuna, is the basic ordering principle not only of society, but of their entire cosmos.

The fact that several names of Jurupari instruments are shared by various sibs may indicate that the names refer to categories of ancestors (rather than individual ancestors) according to the model of five agnatic brothers differentiated by birth order and specialist function, which underlies the social ideology of all Vaupés Indian groups (see the Hugh-Joneses).

2. The Jurupari ritual as a statement about actual social organisation. The Jurupari ritual is, however, not only symbolic expression of the corporate unity of the descent group and the ideal social order. It is also a statement on the actual social organisation, where marriage alliance is as important a social principle as the principle of patrilinear descent. Each sib segment tends to keep its own sub-set of Jurupari instruments. As the segments are spatially dispersed, the instruments of each sib are also dispersed between different sites. However, at most sites the instruments of different but neighbouring sibs are kept together. And as neighbouring sib-segments tend to be closely related by affinal ties, the instruments kept together at one site represent the ancestors of inter-marrying sibs. Thus, at each Jurupari ceremony, not only the ancestors of the different segments of one descent unit, but also the different ancestors of intermarrying sibs, come together, as do their living descendants. In this way the Jurupari ceremony articulates all the basic principles of Makuna social organisation: descent, marriage alliance and locality.

3. The Jurupari ritual as a rite of transition. The Jurupari ritual is quite obviously a rite of transition. The theme of symbolic death and rebirth recurs throughout the ceremony. The initiate is symbolically killed - painted all black - at the beginning of the rite, and reborn towards the end of the rite, when he is carried from the river into the house like a newborn baby. At the terminal rite he is painted all red. During the actual ceremony the initiate is seated on the floor inside the house in foetal position, and during the marginal period following the ceremony he is secluded inside the house; he has to taste shamanised *butu* and is gradually introduced to ordinary food through the sequence of food-shamanism. All in all, the initiate is symbolically identified with a new-born baby.

The symbolism of the Jurupari instruments follows, in a way, the reverse order. Through the *butu* shamanism the ancestors are reborn at the beginning of the rite. When the instruments are brought from the cold stream of the forest into the house, they are brought from the world of the dead to the world of the living. And at the end of the rite, when the Jurupari instruments are returned to the forest they pass from life to death. Both transitions, from death to life and back again from life to death, are signalled by the rite of burning beeswax. When the newborn baby is brought from the forest into the house at birth, and when the soul leaves the body at death, bees wax is burned. And, as is the case both at birth and death, these transitions are supervised by shamans.

In general the Jurupari ceremony serves to express the initiate's transition from childhood to adult status. He is taken from the world of women into the world of men. This is indeed the theme of the myth about how the male mythical heroes stole the Jurupari - identified with the initiate - from the Woman Creator, the mother of Jurupari. The symbolic rebirth of the initiate as an adult man means that his ties with his mother are severed in analogy with the cutting of the umbilical cord at birth.

4. The Jurupari ritual as a statement on the relationship between men and women. The Jurupari instruments represent for the Makuna supreme power: creative power, male sexual power and spiritual power - that is, the power of the ancestral spirits. The myths about the Jurupari tell that in the beginning women alone (the Woman Creator) had access to this power: women controlled the Jurupari and were all-powerful, and the men were therefore subordinated to women. The male mythical heroes, however, succeeded in stealing the Jurupari and the men thus obtained the powers of the Jurupari. Therefore women are subordinated to men in present times.

In this way the myth of the Jurupari justifies male dominance among the Makuna: only men have access to the source of spiritual power. Men alone can communicate with the ancestors, who, according to the beliefs of the Makuna, ultimately determine the fate of the living. Hence men have power over women and children. Men are spiritual beings as opposed to women and children; men are to women and children as spirits are to human. Therefore women depend on men for their well-being. But if women depend on the spiritual power of men, the men at the same time depend on the reproductive power of women for the continuity of the patrilinear descent line, and thus, for the continuity of society itself. Thus if men alone have the power to communicate with the spirits and transmit spiritual power to their descendants, women alone have the power to give birth and physically reproduce the group.

The ideology underlying the Jurupari ritual complex is a reflection upon this necessary relationship of mutual inter-dependency between men and women. It is a means of establishing a complementary - though unequal - relationship between men and women. It is in this light women's non-participation in the Jurupari ritual becomes utterly significant. The prohibition on the part of women (and children) to see the Jurupari is analogous to the almost-universal incest-prohibition and the universal presence of rules of division of labor between the sexes: they are all cultural efforts to create a complementary relationship between men and women, and thereby, to create and maintain society itself (see Levi-Strauss, 1965). It takes both men and women for society to exist. The ideology of the Jurupari complex is a way of "saying" just this. And I suggest that this accounts for the widespread occurrence in different parts of the world (America, Africa, Oceania) of beliefs and rituals very similar to those described here.

5. The cultural definition of manhood. The implication of this interpretation of the Jurupari ritual is that it is directly connected to the values of manhood among the Makuna. Not only are men spiritual beings as opposed to women; they are also fierce and aggressive. The value of bellicosity and physical strength is explicitly expressed in the rite of whipping. The theme of sexual maturation and sexual aggressiveness runs right through the male initiation ritual. There is apparently a connection between sexual maturity, fertility and the forest fruit Jurupari rituals. And the Makuna explicitly state that the proper form of marriage for a recently initiated young man is violent bride capture. Finally, marriage among the Makuna seems to be seasonally determined; the proper season for marriage is the long wet season following the Jurupari ceremony.

All this explains why male initiation presupposes and entails participation in the Jurupari ritual. The Jurupari ritual defines and expresses the Makuna values of maleness as opposed to femaleness; it transfers to the participants the essence and powers of manhood (comp. Maybury-Lewis, 1974:269).

A comparative note

The fact that the Jurupari ritual is much more than a male initiation ritual may account for the curious fact that various ethnographic reports on the North-west Amazon do not mention the Jurupari ritual in connection with male initiation, or even, do not mention any male initiation ritual at all (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1968, Brüzzi, 1977).

The fullest description of male initiation as a sequence of Jurupari rituals is that for the Barasana (S. Hugh-Jones 1974; for a detailed comparative discussion, see his Conclusions). Goldman describes the Jurupari ritual among the Cubeo as an ancestor cult, and he directly links the ancestor cult to male initiation. As among the Makuna the Cubeo ancestor cult is a male cult. When

adolescent boys are shown the Jurupari instruments they are initiated into a male cult, and thereby fully drawn into their roles as sibmen. The social function of initiation is to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father, and to draw him from the playpack of boys into the company of mature men. This is a long and gradual process. Goldman emphasizes the act of ceremonial whipping in male initiation: "the magic of the initiation ceremony is the magic of growth" (1963:191).

Among the Desana no specific male initiation ritual is reported. A dance ritual is held for a group of boys about the age of 16 in which a shaman blows smoke over the boys. The boys then take a ritual bath, paint themselves, drink beer and put on the ceremonial feather-head-dresses for the first time ⁷⁾. At this occasion they dance and play a sort of large pan-pipes. The ritual confirms their status as initiated young men (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1968).

There are also Jurupari rituals among the Desana. However Reichel-Dolmatoff describes the Jurupari ritual among the Desana as part of an exchange ritual, involving the exchange of fruits as well as meat and fish, which takes place when various girls have reached puberty. Thus Reichel Dolmatoff sees the Jurupari ritual as a symbolic elaboration of the affinal exchange relations between sibs ⁸⁾.

FEMALE INITIATION

Female initiation among the Makuna is essentially a puberty ritual, directly connected with first menstruation. It is a highly private ritual, in contrast to the public and collective male initiation ritual. My data on female initiation is very fragmentary. Male informants were unwilling to talk about this matter. And being myself a man, it was almost impossible to obtain information on this subject from the women. The following is a brief outline of female initiation ritual based on my own observations and the verbal information I succeeded in obtaining.

The ritual sequence

I was told that the pubescent girl sees something in a dream that announces to her that she will menstruate. What she sees is a secret among the women. No man is allowed to know about this.

From now on the girl will be called *ngamo* - the same word used for the male initiate. And like the male initiate she is now *bedi* - subject to a number of restrictions, including the usual food prohibitions. A girl menstruating for the first time is called *ngamo bediro* or *kereka rua bare* ("cooking the sloth"). A menstruating woman in general is simply called *bediro*.

The menstruating girl eats only shamanised cassava, ants and palmheart. She is not allowed to work in the garden, nor to bathe in the river. A special enclosure is constructed for her at the rear end of the house. She may not come close to the men of the house. I was told that in former times an old woman informed the men when a girl had her first menstruation. The men then removed their goods from the house until the girl was confined at the rear end of the house.

An old woman cuts the hair of the girl and she is painted red on her chest and temples (like a new-born baby). A shaman blows over certain magical substances (water, red paint and possibly *butu* and *somo misti*; comp. Langdon 1975:100). I was told that this shamanism had to do with the "opening and closing of the girl's vagina".

When the bleeding stops the shaman performs protective magic for the girl so that she can bathe in the river. As she returns from the river the men again remove their goods from the house until she has entered the house.

During the period between the first and second menstruation the girl stays in her enclosure inside the house. During her confinement, the girl is taught her duties as an adult woman - wife and mother - by an elder woman.

When the girl has had her second menstruation she is called *ngamo hudare*. This is the same term used for the male initiate when he has been whipped for the first time (that is, when seeing the forest fruit Jurupari for the second time). Still, the girl is *bedi* and confined in her enclosure. The same ritual sequence is repeated.

When the bleeding stops after the second menstruation the shaman starts to blow over food for the girl in the usual order, beginning with the pepper-shamanism. This marks the end of the marginal period for the girl. Gradually she returns to ordinary food and work habits. I was told that the girl remains *bedi* till her hair grows out again. She is then considered an adult woman, which means that she is allowed to have sexual inter-course with men and to marry.

At every subsequent menstruation the woman is subject to similar but milder restrictions, and an abbreviated version of the same ritual sequence is repeated. Her small children are subject to the same restrictions. Formerly, I was told, men used to remove their goods every time it was announced that a woman of the house was menstruating. This is not done today. Nor is the woman confined in a separate compartment except during her first menstruation.

A comparative note

The rituals associated with first menstruation are similar all over the north-west Amazon. The girl is generally secluded for five days or more. During this period she is subject to food-restrictions; she is prohibited to bathe in the river and has her hair cut. Among the Barasana, myths link menstruation to the shedding of skin and the powers of the bees-wax gourd (see C. Hugh-Jones 1977:167).

Among the Cubeo, Goldman reports that girls undergo digital defloration. An old man stretches the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. This symbolises the "moon copulating with the young girl, bringing about the first menstruation" (1963:180). In this context it is interesting to note that the Makuna say that when a woman menstruates the "sky jaguars" (*makarikaro yaia*) smell the taste of blood and come down to the earth (to eat/copulate with her).

It is also of interest that, among the Cubeo, the menstruating girl is not supposed to scratch her head with her bare hands during confinement. She has to use a scratching stick lest her hair turn white. It will be remembered that the male initiate also has to use a scratching stick during the Jurupari ceremony. At the end of ten days the mother of the girl paints her body with *genipa* and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor. During the seclusion, the hair of the Cubeo girl is cut short. Giaccone reports that among the Tukano a shaman cuts the hair of the girl and burns the cuttings and then sends the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river (cited in Goldman 1963:180).

Reichel-Dolmatoff writes that among the Desana the shaman cuts the hair of the girl and then throws it into the river. Then he paints her body with black and red paint. After her first menstruation the girl leaves her seclusion and goes to the river to bathe. She then offers beer to the officiating shaman. This marks the end of her period of confinement and restrictions.

DEATH

The Makuna do not talk about the recently dead and they never mention them by their spirit names. This again presents a problem to the anthropologist; it makes it difficult to gather information about funerary customs as well as about the conception of death and afterlife. The following outline of funerary ritual is therefore likely to be incomplete. It is based exclusively on verbal information.

Two deaths occurred during my stay among the Komena Makuna. One was a young married woman, the other a newborn baby. I was unable to assist at any of the funerary rituals. The young woman died in a nearby house, only some ten minutes walking distance from where I stayed at the time. Apparently she died at night, yet I did not notice anything about what had happened until the following evening. Nothing in the house where I stayed revealed that a person in a neighbouring house had died. Nobody mentioned the death - at least not in public. Yet the deceased was a close relative (BSW of the head man in the house where I stayed).

A missionary staying with the Makuna gave me the following brief account of a funeral he observed. The man who died was a prestigious old shaman and former headman of the house. He had been seriously ill for some time, and as he was very old, his adult sons prepared for his funeral. They cut up an old canoe in

two pieces. This was to be the coffin of the old man. They left the coffin in front of the house. This was done a couple of days before the old man actually died. When he died men and women started to wail. Then the men of the house dug a deep hole in the centre of the house. The body was placed - stretched out - in the coffin and was immediately buried. Great care was taken that no earth or dust should touch the corpse in the grave. The corpse was wrapped in a hammock and was buried with a bag of coca and tobacco. After the burial the men blew snuff up each others noses. People who happened to come by the house entered and wept ritually. There was no public feast in connection with the funeral.

A young Makuna man gave me an account of the events surrounding the death of two persons which had taken place some time before my arrival in the field. As this account (hopefully) will be published elsewhere I will here mention only one interesting fact, which does not appear in the general description of funerary ritual below. In both cases of the account the narrator says that the dying person - an old man in one case and a young boy in the other - rejects food for a period before the death, but that shortly before the death he asks for food. The narrator says that this meal is the "meal of departure" ("comida de despedida" in Spanish); it means that the dying person is parting from his living relatives 9).

Outline of the funerary ritual

The dead are immediately buried inside the house. Persons who die away from their own home are buried in the house where they die. The grave is generally dug in the central part of the house or towards the front door. The headman is likely to be buried between the central pillars of the house. Men, women and children are buried side by side.

The grave is a deep vertical hole, with a cave towards the side. One informant told me that formerly the corpse of a man was tied with ropes in foetal position. He was then wrapped in his hammock or in pieces of cloth. Women were buried in big clay pots. Nowadays the body of a dead man is stretched out in a coffin made of a canoe cut in half, one end serving as bottom and the other as top. A man is buried with his bag of coca and tobacco.

Before being lowered down in the grave the body is carefully cleaned from dust and earth, and as it is lowered down great care is taken that it should not touch the walls of the hole. When the coffin is finally placed in the cave, a fence of palmwood (nikona) is set up to separate the cave from the grave-hole. This is to ensure that the coffin with the corpse does not come in contact with the earth when the hole is filled up.

When the hole is filled up it is important that nothing should be seen of the grave. The earth is smoothed on the grave and all excess earth removed to leave no hump or other sign of the grave.

It is the men who dig the grave and lower down the corpse. I was told that the burial labor was very painful. The bodies of the men, who assist in the digging, ache for a long time. The men then take shamanised snuff. While the men work, the women weep. After the burial, men and women lament together. Relatives and guests who happen to pass by are supposed to join in the weeping and lamenting. Though the relatives of the dead weep spontaneously there is also an element of ritualised lamentation present, consisting of a loud melodic crying. The name of the dead is called out, his deeds and virtues in life recapitulated in public.

As the lamentation proceeds, the close relatives of the deceased publically express their suspicions of sorcery or poisoning. This is not however, always the case. Contrary to what appears to be the case for many other Vaupés indians, the Makuna do recognize natural death from sickness and old age, which has nothing to do with sorcery or poisoning 9).

After the burial the shaman burns bees-wax and resin inside and outside the house. The smoke of the burned bees-wax is said to carry away the soul of the dead (*asi*) to the sky (or, alternatively, to the house of the dead in the east). This ritual is called *bohori kware* (throwing away the sorrow). During this ritual the shaman is said to collect all the "memories" that the deceased has left among the living - all that can cause grief among his relatives - and send them away to the house of the dead where the soul of the deceased ultimately goes.

After this ritual which marks the end of the funeral, everything in the house is supposed to be as if nothing had happened. The living are supposed to forget the dead, to have no memories about the deceased. It is for them as if the deceased had never existed. From now on his or her name is not mentioned 10).

I was told that the shaman continues to blow over the soul of the dead for some weeks, to protect and supervise it in the afterlife. I have, however, no details on this shamanism, nor did I observe any particular restrictions on the part of the close relatives of the deceased after the funeral. The husband of the woman, mentioned above, who died during my fieldwork certainly observed no food-restriction nor any other restrictions as far as I could judge 11). In the case of an old shaman who died shortly before my arrival among the Komana Makuna the Jurupari instruments of the sib to which the old man had belonged were not taken out from their hiding place for over a year, as a result of the death. This was evidently an act of respect or even fear.

Like the birth ritual, the funerary ritual is essentially a private ceremony, involving only the closest relatives of the longhouse community. The purpose of the whole funerary ritual seems to be to make the relatives of the deceased forget his or her existence, and to separate the soul of the dead from the corpse and safely guide it to the house of the dead.

Conceptions of death and afterlife

Despite efforts, I was only able to get a very fragmentary and incoherent view of the Makuna beliefs concerning afterlife. This incoherence may reflect gaps in my data, but I think that it rather indicates that the Makuna have no clear and coherent conception of death and afterlife. Thus I have recorded fragments of several different accounts of what happens after death, all of which apparently coexist among the Makuna.

According to the Makuna, the world, which is inhabited by the humans (*sita*; the earth or middle cosmic level) has six doorways (*sohe ri*): one to the upper levels of the cosmos (*umakuhua tuti*; the sky world), one to the under world (*hakahua tuti*), and one in each of the cardinal directions. Death occurs when the life spirit of a person definitely leaves the world of the living through one of these doorways. When the life spirit has passed through any one of these doorways it is gone forever. It appears as if the different versions of what happens after death correspond to the different possible "paths" of the spirit: whether it rises to the skyworld or goes down to the underworld, or again leaves through any of the doorways in the cardinal directions.

One version has it that the life spirit leaves the body "like a piece of red paint, or a drop of blood". It rises up to the upper levels of the cosmos and enters into the skyworld "like a butterfly enters into a *maloca*".

In the skyworld the soul of the dead goes to a place called *amu itara* or *makarikuro sabo*. Here live the *amuana*, the "light beings" with the voice of the thunder. The skyworld is the abode of the *Ayawa masa*, the god-people (the male mythical heroes), the *bukua masa*, the ancestors, and the *ngoa ri* ("bones" or "bone blood"). These are all powerful spirits. The soul of the dead stay with these spiritual beings in the sky. Left on the earth is only the skin (*wiro*).

In the sky the dead is said to be reborn (*makana ruheare*). The *Ayawa masa*, all being powerful shamans (*makarikuro yaia*), blow over the dead and put soul and body together. It is the shamanism of the *Ayawa masa* that people hear on the earth when there is thunder and lightning in the sky 12). According to one informant this takes place some weeks after death. According to another, the dead is reborn in the sky "as when a piece of meat is boiled in a pot on the fire" when the long dry season begins (*gahe kuma*).

After being reborn in the sky as a sort of ghost-beings the dead go down again to the earth, entering this world in the east through the water doorway (*ide sohe*). From the eastern doorway the dead follow the paths of the ancestral anacondas towards the centre of the world, where the humans live. They go to the house of the dead which is called "the waking up house of the ancestors" (*masa yuhiri bukua wi*). This is the place of origin of each sib, and the place to which all the dead of the sib return. It is the ancestral house. Each sib has an ancestral house, located somewhere between the eastern doorway and the centre

of the inhabited world.

The "life" of the dead in the ancestral house is similar to the life of the living, but reversed. They eat only spiritual food - coca and snuff - and they smoke cigars, drink beer and dance. I was told that in the house of the dead men and women of the sib are reunited. The ancestral house of the Saina sib is called Manitara. It is supposed to be located in the rocks deep in the Apaporis river, just below the mouth of the Pira-Parana river. The ancestral house of the Yiba sib is called Itara - a tapirs salt lick at the mouth of the Komena river.

The dead may visit the living in the form of *masa namma*, shadow people, and *wahoa*, bodyless spirits. The ghosts of the dead thus often roam around the houses of the living relatives. The ghost is particularly prone to return to house-sites where it used to live. The spirits of the dead may also turn into animals of the forest; they may put on the skin of animals and change skin "like the white man changes shirts". This capacity is in fact a characteristic feature of all Makuna spirits as well as of the shamans.

The spirits of the dead of particular sibs are apparently associated with specific animals. Thus the souls of Ide masa (Saina) men turn into anacondas or jaguars, while the souls of Yiba men turn into tapirs or anacondas.

A different version of afterlife has it that the soul of the dead follows the body down into the underworld. It reaches the Underworld river (*wama riaka*) which has its source in the east. The Underworld river thus flows from east to west, while the rivers of the earth flow in the opposite direction, from west to east.

The Underworld is populated by *bohori masa*, the "sad people". The spirit of the dead joins the *bohori masa* in the Underworld. It travels the Underworld river up to its source in the east, where it enters the *gotha masa buku wi*, the "ancestral house of the frog people".

The *gotha masa* is a certain species of frog which appears abundantly and "sings" (*busira*) at a certain season of the year (*gotha rodo*). The Makuna say that the *gotha masa* travel from their house in the east across the earth to the western doorway (*huna sohe*) where they leave this world and travel up the Underworld river back to their house in the east. Clearly, then, the *gotha masa* are closely associated with the souls (and bodies) of the dead. They are the *bohori masa*, the underworld people who seasonally visit the earth.

The *gotha masa* bring disease, misfortune and death to the living. When they travel on the earth from east to west people fear that the *gotha masa* shall take the souls of the living with them down to the Underworld, and thus cause death among the living. To protect the living, the shamans have to "dance the *gotha masa* out" of this world through the western doorway.

Apparently we have here two opposed conceptions of the dead. In one version of afterlife the soul of the dead is associated with the sky and the ancestral spirits, the source of life and creation. As ancestral spirits in the house of the dead, the dead are benevolent and life giving. In the other version, however, the dead are associated with the underworld and the underworld people, the source of illness, misfortune and death. As *bohori masa* and *gotha masa* the dead are malevolent and life-taking.

A third version of afterlife combines these two opposed conceptions of the dead. It states briefly that the souls of dead people who have behaved "well" in life - that is according to the Makuna standards of proper behaviour - rise to the sky and then return as benevolent ghosts to the ancestral house on the earth. The souls of dead people who have, on the other hand, misbehaved during their lifetime go down to the underworld and become malevolent underworld people, "sad people" (*bohori masa*). I do not know to what extent this version might be influenced by Christian beliefs. Evidently a distinction between the souls of good and bad people is traditionally made among the Cubeo (Goldman, 1963:259).

Finally, a fourth version states that the soul of the dead first joins the corpse in the underworld and then ascends to the skyworld, and follows the order of events described in the first version above. This version seems to come close to the conception of afterlife among the Barasana (C. Hugh-Jones, 1977), among whom the soul is associated with the bones of the dead, and thus escapes from the body in the grave only after the bones have rotted away 13).

Interpretation

There is clearly a concept of reincarnation among the Makuna; the soul of the dead are reborn as children¹⁴). The evidence for this is extensive. The corpse was formerly buried in foetal position. The dead is reborn as a sort of ghost of body and soul in the sky, and later descends to the ancestral house on the earth. The Makuna believe that all human beings descend from ancestral anacondas who in mythical times swam up rivers from the east towards the centre of the world, founding ancestral houses from which the first people were born and to which the souls of the dead return. These houses are called "the waking up houses of the ancestors" - an allusion to rebirth. Finally the name of a dead person is ideally inherited patrilineally by a newborn baby in the second descending generation. The newborn baby is thus spiritually identified with his or her patrilineal grandparent.

All this suggests that the soul of the dead participates in a grand cyclical movement between life and death, earth and sky, and between the ancestral house in the east and the house of the living at the centre of the world. This idea explains the role of the shaman during birth and funerary rituals. It is the duty of the shaman to guide and protect the soul on its journey between the world of the living and the world of the dead; from life to death and back again, from earth to sky and back again, and from the centre of the world to the periphery and back again. The soul of each individual thus recapitulates the creative cyclical movement of the first ancestral anacondas.

If the shaman fails to protect the soul on this journey - from birth through initiation to death - the creative movement comes to a halt, the circuit of the soul is broken and the soul is eaten by soul-sucking demons or stolen by the underworld people. Thus, the soul enters into another and destructive circuit; a cyclical movement between this world and the underworld, following the seasonal wanderings of the *gotha masa*.

Birth and death are clearly critical points in the cyclical movement of the soul - as it enters the body of the newborn baby and as it leaves the body of the dead person. These are moments when the soul is vulnerable to soul-sucking demons and other malevolent spirits who feed upon human souls. Therefore the services of the shaman are as important at birth and death as at initiation, when the initiate is symbolically killed and reborn. On the basis of this interpretation I suspect that the shaman officiating at death observes a series of restrictions after the funerary ritual - confinement and food restrictions - similar to those he observes at birth and initiation.

A comparative note

Rituals associated with death apparently vary a great deal in the northwest Amazon. Among the Barasana the funerary ritual is similar to that of the Makuna. C. Hugh-Jones (1977:133) reports that men are buried with ritual dance ornaments, and that the possessions which are not buried with the dead should be destroyed. Until recently a funeral dance with masked charades used to be held some time after the death of an important man.

Among the Cubeo - as among the Makuna and the Barasana - the dead are buried in a canoe cut in half in the centre of the house. In one case reported by Goldman a drinking gourd with a hole in the bottom, and a broken ceremonial dance staff were laid beside the corpse. Goldman (1963:187) notes that in their tales the Cubeo speak of the corpse as buried in a large urn in sitting position. Mourning goes through three phases: first, from the moment of death to burial when the close sib-mates show spontaneous (as well as ritual) lamentation; secondly, from burial to the great mourning ceremony, when the close female kin accept the burden of ritual lamentation; and finally, the great mourning ceremony during which the entire living cosmos joins in the mourning. The mourning ceremony is the most important of all Cubeo ceremonies. It takes place about a year after death, during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. The ceremony consists of two parts. The first is a three day ritual, during which masked dancers impersonate beasts, birds, insects and fishes as well as spirits. All come to mourn and to turn people from grief. The second and concluding part follows about a month later, at which the spirits of the dead are finally evicted from the community. The main themes of the whole mourning ceremony are the

expulsion of the spirits of the dead, the magical absorption of the substance of the dead into the body of the sib¹⁵), and, at the culmination of the rite, the sexual interplay between men and women (Golman 1963:237).

In this context it is interesting that the Makuna have a ceremony very similar to the Cubeo mourning ceremony, involving masked dancers representing animals and spirits. This ceremony, called the "spirit dance" (*reana basa*) or the "pupunha dance" (*jota basa*), is held as it is among the Cubeo, in the season of the pupunha palm. However, the Makuna never explicitly associated this ceremony with the mourning over recently dead.

Reichel-Dolmatoff (1968:113) observes that among the Desana the corpse is generally buried outside the house though immediately adjacent to it. On the grave the Desana place a pot of beer and light a fire which is maintained during a week. The reason for this is, according to the Desana, that the underworld is a very cold place. The same idea is expressed by the Tukano (Bruzzi, 1977:290). A mortuary ceremony (*ore bayari*) is held 3-4 months after the death¹⁶). After this ceremony, which involves ritual lamentation, dancing and a ritual bath in the river, the name of the deceased is not mentioned.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The major life cycle rituals among the Makuna - those accompanying birth, puberty and death - contain different sequences and combinations of a few basic ritual elements. The list below summarises the elements that recur most frequently.

Table 4

Ritual elements	Birth	M init.	F init.	Death
Food restrictions	X	X	X	?
Confinement	X	X	X	?
Pepper shamanism	X	X	X	?
Butu shamanism	X	X	?	
Gaheona bure	X	X	X	?
Burning bees-wax (and resin)	X	X	?	X
Use of black body paint	X	X	?	
Use of red body paint	X	X	X	
Shamanised snuff	X	X		X
Ritual bath	X	X	X	

All ten ritual elements listed occur in two or more of the four major life cycle rituals described, and eight of them occur in three of the four life cycle rituals. Basically each of these ritual elements has the same meaning in all of the different rituals in which they occur. It is the way they are combined in sequences that differ and which generate different messages. Confinement and food restrictions invariably go together. In terms of the symbolic language of rites of transition confinement and food-restrictions express marginality and liminality. The marginal period always ends with the rite of pepper-shamanism. Shamanised *butu* is administered separately or together with pepper to mark the return to normal (profane) status and ordinary food habits. The *butu*-shamanism is associated with birth (rebirth), blood (compensating blood loss?) and physical growth.

The rite of removing goods (men or women's; *gaheona bure*) from the house and the burning of bees wax (and resin) are apparently connected. Though their emic content may vary, they are both rites of disjunction, marking and symbolically bringing about the transition from one state of being to another (cf./Hugh-Jones 1974:167).

Black body paint is symbolically associated with the world of spirits. It symbolises death and brings about the separation from the profane world of the living. Application of black body paint turns the individual into a spiritual being - a being of the sacred world of ancestors.

The red body paint is associated with human status and the profane world of the living - as opposed to spiritual status and the sacred world of the dead.

It symbolises birth and rebirth, the aggregation of the individual into the social world of the living. The application of red body paint brings about the transition from the sacred to the profane and social. To the Makuna, however, birth and rebirth imply death, and vice versa. It is therefore significant that black and red body paint often go together. It is the relationship (of separation or conjunction) between the red and black body paint that conveys meaning rather than the colours taken separately. Yet red body paint in itself has a clear protective (magic) power apart from its expressive (symbolical) value: it is believed to protect the living from sickness and death.

Finally, shamanised snuff is used in connection with the ritual bath (at birth and initiation - for males only). The inhaling of shamanised snuff causes symbolic death (see S. Hugh-Jones 1974:202), while the ritual bath evidently symbolizes rebirth. Snuff, like red paint, also has magical protective power. It protects from harm coming from water.

Many of the ritual elements described are evidently symbolic devices of transition from one state of being into another. Life cycle rituals are rites of transitions. They are concerned with spiritual and physical transformations; soul- and body- change. As rites of transitions they all follow a tripartite sequential pattern: rites of separation, a marginal state and rites of aggregation. The ritual elements summarized above all symbolize and signal separation, aggregation or the marginal state. They all say something about spiritual and physical transformation.

The different life cycle rituals all combine into a total system of ideas and ritual behaviour, in which each rite is a "partial transformation of each of the others" (Leach 1976:26). Details of one ritual receive meaning in relation to details of another ritual. In this sense, all life cycle rituals among the Makuna must be understood in relation to each other as parts of a whole. Leach (1976:27) has illustrated this point using the familiar Christian European custom by which brides are dressed in white and widows are veiled and dressed in black, as an example. Though usually separated by a considerable time interval both these "symbolic" elements are part of the same message. The same can be said for many of the symbolic elements of Makuna life cycle rituals. The following is a summary of the evidence for this contention.

Birth and death

I have already pointed out the continuity between the Makuna concept of death and birth. At death, the soul of the dead leaves the body and joins the ancestral spirits, first in the sky and then in the house of the dead (the ancestral house) on earth. At birth the soul of a dead grandparent enters the body of the newborn child. The souls of humans thus shuttle back and forth between the house of the dead and the house of the living, between the periphery and the centre of the world and between sky and earth. Birth and death are only stopping points on this eternal cyclical journey of the soul.

At death the soul goes through a liminal (marginal) period when it is not yet fully separated from the body nor fully aggregated into the world of ancestors. The funerary ritual is concerned with the separation of the soul from the body and the world of the living, and - at a later stage - with the aggregation of the soul into the community of ancestors.

At birth the soul of the newborn baby likewise passes through a transitional stage when it is not yet fully separated from the spiritual world of the ancestors, nor fully integrated into the world of the living, and when it is not yet fully separated from the soul of the father nor fixed to the body of the child. Again the ritual has as its purpose to separate the child from the ancestral world as well as from the parents, and to establish its integrity and identity as a separate human being. This is brought about by rites of separation (removal of the men's goods and the burning of bees-wax), followed by a marginal period (confinement and restrictions) and later the rites of aggregation (the rebirth of the child symbolized by the ritual bath and the naming ceremony).

The inverse relationship between birth and death is manifest in the ritual sequences. The birth and death rituals are similar but contrasted. Both are basically private rituals restricted to the longhouse community and both are "silent" rituals. But the birth ritual essentially evolves around the *butu*-shamanism (growth magic) and the ritual bath in the river (symbolic birth)

while the funerary ritual (after the burial and lamentation) focuses on the burning of bees-wax and resin (symbolically and magically carrying away the soul of the dead). The birth ritual involves the parents in food restriction and confinement, while the funerary ritual apparently does not involve any restrictions on the part of the close relatives.

Birth and male initiation

A comparison of birth ritual and male initiation reveals a number of symbolic analogies. Both rituals are concerned with soul transmission: Transmission of the individual life spirit in the case of the naming ceremony, and transmission of the collective spirit of the sib in the case of the Jurupari ceremony.

The personal spirit name represents the soul of the individual, inherited from a patrilineal grandparent; the Jurupari instruments represent and embody the soul of the patrilinear descent group, including living as well as dead ancestors. Thus while the naming ceremony establishes individual (personal) identity, the Jurupari ceremony establishes social (collective) identity.

The spirit-names, like the Jurupari instruments, are in a sense part of the corporate ritual property of the sib. Each sib ideally owns a particular set of spirit names which is recycled every two generations. And again, like the Jurupari instruments, the spirit names are in a way sacred; they are never to be mentioned in public.

Finally the spirit names as well as the Jurupari instruments are apparently classified according to the model of five agnatic brothers, differentiated by birth order and specialist functions. All in all this interpretation explains certain features of the birth ritual. To receive a name becomes analogous to see the Jurupari instruments. In myth the act of seeing the Jurupari is often phrased as "receiving the Jurupari" (*he boka amire*). The ritual bath of the newborn baby after the naming ceremony becomes analogous to the ritual bath of the initiate after seeing the Jurupari for the first time. In both cases the child and initiate respectively are reborn as spiritual beings. In this light it is perfectly consistent that naming takes place immediately after birth and before the ritual bath - a fact which C. Hugh-Jones has expressed certain doubts about (1977:161). In short, the birth and naming ritual appears in this perspective as a condensed and partly transformed version of the Jurupari ritual.

Male and female initiation

Like birth and death rituals, male and female initiation rituals are similar but contrasted. The most striking contrasts are summarized in the table below:

Male initiation

- public, social
- essentially cultural-spiritual transformation
- seeing the Jurupari instruments
- exclusive male ritual (men's secret)
- external/seasonal timing
- long marginal period/severe restrictions

Female initiation

- private, individual
- essentially natural/physical transformation
- seeing "something" in a dream
- exclusive female ritual (women's secret)
- internal/physiological timing
- short marginal period/mild restrictions

The consistency between the ritual elements in each column is readily apparent. The male initiation emphasizes collectivity and community; the female initiation stresses individuality and privacy. Seeing something in a dream is, indeed, a very private experience, and markedly opposed to the collective seeing of the Jurupari instruments¹⁷).

This correspondence between masculinity and collectivity, on one hand, and femininity and individuality on the other, goes right through all aspects of Makuna culture. In the context of social organisation the Makuna are characterised by patrilinear sibs and virilocal post-marital residence. The longhouse is inhabited by a core of male agnates and their wives coming from other sibs and longhouses. Thus men form the community; women are attached as individuals to the collectivity of men. And in the context of oral traditions, the men's songs are the collective property of the sib. They are composed not by men but by the ancestors and are performed during public religious ceremonies. The

women's songs, on the other hand are composed by individual women and sung individually. They are profane and emotional in character in contrast to the sacred, religious songs of the men.

Closer scrutiny of the contrasts between the male and female initiation, however, reveal an underlying unity and similarity. Male and female initiation ritual are in a sense related but inverse. Both concern the transition from childhood to adult status - male as well as female initiates are called *ngamo*, *bedi* and at a certain point during the ritual *ngamo hndare*. Both involve the act of seeing something particular that belongs exclusively to the sex and both rites are unique with respect to sex. And in contrasting ways both rituals are periodical - one determined by the external cycle of seasons, the other by the internal cycle of physiological periodicity. In short, all this suggests that menstruation is for females what Jurupari is for men (and the name for the newborn child). Each of the rituals serves to differentiate the sexes at the same time as they express an underlying identity (as humans rather than non-humans) and a complementarity between men and women¹⁸).

Male initiation and death ritual

I would like to end with a comparative note. It concerns the significance of the Jurupari ceremony among the Makuna and the Barasana as compared with the significance of the mourning ceremony among the Cubeo. Among the Makuna and Barasana the main Jurupari ritual is considered the most important of all religious rituals, while among the Cubeo it plays a relatively unimportant role in the religious life of the group. Among the Cubeo the mourning ceremony is by far the most important religious ceremony. Among the Makuna a similar ritual is held in connection with the ripening of the pupunha palm, but apparently without any connection to mourning and death. Among the Makuna and Barasana death rituals are relatively minor and highly private religious events. In a way the mourning ceremony among the Cubeo substitutes the male initiation ceremony among the Barasana and Makuna. It is therefore not surprising that the mourning ceremony among the Cubeo to a large extent has the same ideological content as the Jurupari ceremony among the Makuna and Barasana: both are largely descent rituals stressing symbolically the unity and corporateness of the patrilinear descent group. The mourning ceremony among the Cubeo furthermore involves the use of a pair of Jurupari-like instruments, and the whole ceremony is concerned with the relationship (of separation and conjunction) between the sexes. I venture the conclusion that the possibility of elaborating any of the life cycle rituals into a major religious ceremony exists among all the groups described. The Cubeo have chosen to elaborate the mourning ceremony; the Makuna and the Barasana have chosen the male initiation ceremony as the supreme expression of their religious life.

This contention points to what should already be obvious. The total system of ideas and ritual behaviour, which makes sense out of the different life cycle rituals examined in this paper, is not confined to a single cultural group, but is shared by a whole set of groups. A ritual sequence in one group is not necessarily understandable in the context of the ideology and symbolism of that group alone. Hence a comparative analysis of ritual and ideological variation in a whole set of related or even apparently disparate cultural groups is likely to add to the understanding of the rituals in each¹⁹).

NOTES

1. These observations were originally intended as a complement to a native account of Makuna life cycle rituals. For reasons of space it has not been possible to publish the full native account together with my own observations of life cycle rituals. I hope, however, to be able to publish the native account separately in the future.
2. Though this expression was not further explained to me, I believe that one of the purposes of *butu*-shamanism is to stop the mother from bleeding after birth, and to compensate for her loss of blood.
3. The Makuna further distinguish between *baya wame* (Dancers name), *ewa masa wame* (Hunters name) and *bari masa wame* ("eaters name"; that is, the name of Commoners).

4. A female child ideally receives her name from her FFZ who is also her MM. This indicates that there may be matri-linear as well as patri-linear principle operating in name-transmission (for female and male children respectively).
5. This is written before I have fully examined all my myth-material. It is likely that the myths yield additional data on the nature and origin of the Jurupari, and even that this data modifies the summary of the Jurupari beliefs presented here.
6. This contention is supported by Koch-Grünberg (1909:316). He provides the names of three Jurupari instruments of the Tuyuka: Katahoa, Bosero and Pamo (comp. the Makuna equivalents in table 2).
7. This rite resembles the terminal rite for the initiate, following after the main Jurupari ceremony among the Barasana and the Makuna.
8. The Jurupari ritual described by Reichel-Dolmatoff appears as a condensation of two Makuna rituals: first, the forest fruit Jurupari ritual, and, secondly, the meat-fish exchange ritual, which is associated with affinal exchange relations between sibs, and which contains an element of marked erotic symbolism. Reichel-Dolmatoff's interpretation of the Jurupari ritual among the Desana is furthermore of interest in light of my contention that the Jurupari ritual among the Makuna not only serves to express the importance of the principle of patrilinear descent, but also the principle of marriage alliance in actual social organisation (see above).
9. The term for disease is *ñarise*; "to exist", "to be". The implication is that disease and death are inherent in existence and entailed by life. Disease was born with the world, and shamans exist to protect the people from it. But shamans may also cause disease and death. The Makuna thus recognize both natural death and death caused by sorcery.
10. In reality, the dead are of course remembered and grieved for by the living relatives. Spontaneous lamentation over a dead relative - child or parent - occasionally occurred years after the funeral.
11. This appears to be the case also among the Tukano. Brüzzi (1977:328) reports that the relatives of a dead person resume their daily work immediately after the funeral, and that there is no period of restrictions on the part of the living.
12. The Tukano believe that when it rains after a burial, the soul of the dead has arrived in the sky (Brüzzi, 1977:330).
13. The journey of the soul in this version also parallels the mythical journey of Yiba - a mythical hero and ancestor - in the Makuna version of the myth about Yiba and Yawira - his wife. The Barasana version of the same myth is recorded by C. Hugh-Jones (1977).
14. Brüzzi (1977:290) states repeatedly that there exists no concept of re-incarnation among the Tukano.
15. The exhumed limb bones of the deceased are pounded into a powder which is mixed with chicha and drunk by the men of the sib (Goldman, 1963:220).
16. Brüzzi (1977:331) reports that among the Tukano a public feast with dancing and drinking of chicha is held a few days after the burial.
17. Among the Makuna even drug induced visions are expected to be shared collectively among men.
18. The Hugh-Joneses have interpreted the male initiation ceremony as a symbolic menstruation. Menstruation is regarded as a process of skin-change, and the ability to change skin is considered the source of women's reproductive power. During the Jurupari ceremony the men symbolically change soul. Soul change is the source of male power and virility. Soul and skin change are thus both means of individual renewal and social continuity (the Hugh-Joneses, 1974, 1976, 1977).
19. In this context I would like to suggest an explanation of certain features of the Siriono birth customs by comparing them with the Makuna ideas about birth and death. However, my interpretation cannot be conclusively evaluated for lack of data on some crucial aspects of the Siriono cosmology. Holmberg (1969) describes a series of birth customs without giving a clue to the meaning of certain details. Thus when a Siriono child is born, the father leaves for a ritual hunt in the forest. The child is then named after the animal first encountered or killed by the father. To understand this custom I believe that

we must look at the concepts the Siriono have about death and afterlife. However Holmberg does not provide us with the necessary data on this point - or perhaps the Siriono themselves have no clear idea about afterlife. In any case it is certainly tempting to interpret the custom of naming among the Siriono in the light of the Makuna conceptions of naming and afterlife. Is it the case among the Siriono, as it is among the Makuna, that the soul of the dead may enter into the body of an animal, and that naming establishes the identity of the child by transmitting the soul of a dead ancestor/relative to the newborn child? If this is the case, the father, by killing the animal of the forest, separates the soul of the dead from the body of the animal, and by naming the child after the animal, incorporates the soul of the dead into the body of the newborn child and thereby establishes the continuity between the soul of the dead and the newborn child. The identity between the child and the killed animal established by the naming ceremony would in this light indicate a concept of reincarnation - of spiritual continuity between the living and the dead - similar to that found in, and fundamental to, the cosmology of many northwest Amazonian groups.

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